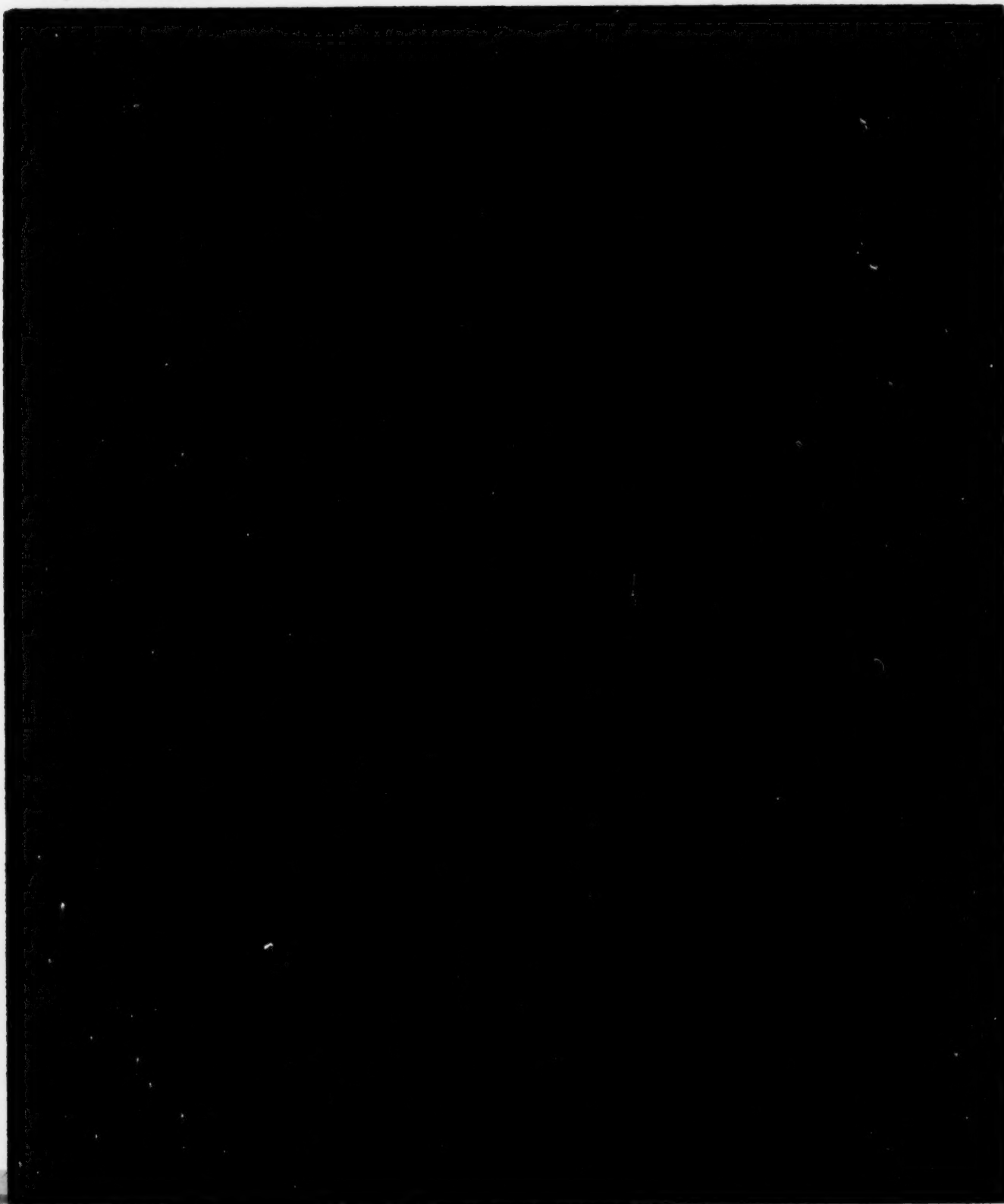


LIBERATION

July-August 1960

30c



XUM

LIBERATION AN INDEPENDENT MONTHLY

110 Christopher St. New York 14, N. Y.

CHelsea 3-5411

Chicago: 4831 South Dorchester

England: care of Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N 1

CONTENTS

Vol. V, Nos. 5-6

Editorials	3	
The Logic of Annihilation	5	Lanza del Vasto
The Crisis in SANE	10	A. J. Muste
America's National Purpose	14	Edwin Halsey
A Black Eye for the Un-Americans	15	Robert Martinson
Two Poems	18	Paul Goodman
War Criminals: Cuban Style	19	Carleton Beals
A Word or Two Before They Do Us In	22	Marc D. Schleifer
Tone Poem	22	Art Berger
The Last Illusion (poem)	22	Salomon de la Selva
Festivals and Indian Life	23	Krishnalal Shridharani
A Kind of Folk Song to Martin Luther King (poem)	24	Jeffrey Allen Berner
A Smokescreen of Morality	25	David McReynolds
"International Good Will Through Sports"	28	Eroseanna Robinson & Ann Morrisett
Reviews	29	
Letters	30	

In This Issue:

LANZA DEL VASTO is the founder of L'Arche, a religious pacifist community in France. A number of his books have appeared in French, and one, *From Gandhi to Vinoba*, has been translated into English. His piece reprinted here was the leading article in the February 1960 issue of *Esprit*, the important Personalist monthly edited by Jean-Marie Domenach (19, rue Jacob, Paris VIe, France).

CARLETON BEALS is a veteran observer of Latin-American affairs. He has written many books, including *The Coming Struggle for Latin America*.

ROBERT MARTINSON is a former student at the University of California, at Berkeley. He recently ran unsuccessfully for Mayor of Berkeley on the Socialist ticket.

PAUL GOODMAN's latest book, *Growing Up Absurd*, will be published in the fall.

SALOMON DE LA SELVA, the Nicaraguan poet, died in Paris last year. He was the author of a number of books of poetry, one of them written in English. LILLIAN LOWENFELS is one of the thirty-six Philadelphia teachers who lost their jobs in 1954 after defying the House Committee on Un-American

Activities. She is married to Walter Lowenfels, the poet.

EROSEANNA ROBINSON holds the world's record for the women's indoor high jump.

ANN MORRISSETT is a free-lance writer and has worked with the American Committee on Africa.

The cover is by VERA WILLIAMS. The illustrations on pp. 15 and 23 are by DOUGLAS GORSLINE.

JEFFREY ALLEN BERNER is a literature student living in Phoenix, Arizona.

With his poem in this issue, ART BERGER, who lives in Brooklyn, makes his first appearance in LIBERATION.

Shift in staff: Early in August, DAVID McREYNOLDS, former editorial secretary of LIBERATION, became the new field secretary for the War Resisters League. His place at LIBERATION has been taken by RICHARD GILPIN, who is active in the pacifist and socialist movements, having served as legislative chairman of the Student Peace Union and on the secretarial staff of the Socialist Party. He attended the University of Illinois, where he majored in sociology. McReynolds will continue to serve LIBERATION, in the capacity of associate editor.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dave Dellinger
Roy Finch
Sidney Lens
A. J. Muste
Bayard Rustin

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Robert Pickus
Mulford Sibley
Charles Walker
Denny Wilcher

BUSINESS MANAGER

Ralph Di Gia

EDITORIAL SECRETARY

David McReynolds

CONTRIBUTORS

Claire Huchet Bishop
Charles Bloomstein
Don Calhoun
Martin J. Corbin
Dorothy Day
Waldo Frank
Richard Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
Michael Harrington
Francis Heisler
William Hesselstine
Homer A. Jack
Paul Jacobs
Herbert Kelman
Roy Kepler
Martin Luther King, Jr.
Staughton Lynd
Norman Mailer
Milton Mayer
Helen Mears
Lewis Mumford
Don Murray
William Neumann
Kenneth Patchen
James Peck
Benjamin Reid
Kenneth Rexroth
Pitirim Sorokin
Kurt H. Wolff
Curtis Zahn

Berlin

Henry Holm

Calcutta

Nirmal Kumar Bose

London

Vera Brittain

J. Allen Skinner

New Delhi

Krishnalal Shridharani

ARTIST

Rita Corbin

PHOTOGRAPHER

Harold Feinstein

Printed by

THE LIBERTARIAN PRESS
a workers' community shop
GLEN GARDNER, N. J.

Subscription: 1 year .. \$3.00; Individual Copies .. 30c

Make checks and money orders payable to LIBERATION

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

In almost every important respect the two Presidential candidates this year are birds of a feather. They have both emerged as the result of large-scale organizational efficiency, shrewd political deals and ruthless personal ambition. They have both been distinguished by a single-minded pursuit of political power. (Nixon has perhaps gotten his hands a little dirtier, because he does not have the advantage of huge wealth, but Kennedy's hands are not much cleaner.) Each has shown a calculated willingness to compromise when it was a question of personal preferment. Kennedy revealed this on the McCarthy question and on civil rights, Nixon on the Communist issue and in his relations with questionable financial supporters. Kennedy is tied to a family which carries the spirit of big-city machine politics over to the national scene. Nixon has been the willing spokesman for business interests.

In the full glare of a hundred television cameras, the entire country watched the cynical maneuver by which Kennedy promised full civil rights to the Negroes and then turned around and assured the South that he didn't mean it by choosing Lyndon Johnson for Vice-President. (The analogy with the Roosevelt-Garner ticket is misplaced, because the world has changed, Negroes are on the move, and it is no longer possible to compromise on this question.) Two weeks later, the country watched Nixon ostensibly adopt the Rockefeller program when it was obvious to all that he did not really believe in it. Talking out of both sides of their mouths at the same time is an old trick of politicians, but it is scarcely the kind of leadership which is needed today when the world is on the verge of going up in flames.

The other thing that distinguished both political conventions and both nominees was their shirking of the peace question. It is an easier and cheaper road to power to exploit the fear of Communism. Hence both parties demand more armaments and more "toughness" in dealing with the Russians. Nobody at either convention had the courage to express the universal longing for a relaxation of tensions, the longing which Stevenson at least partially recognized in his campaigns. Instead the so-called liberals outdid the conservatives in calling for an intensi-

fication of the cold war. The Democrats fell back on their old formula, which has made them the war party of the twentieth century. Their only serious criticism of the Eisenhower administration in foreign affairs was that it has lagged behind militarily—a charge vehemently denied by the President.

Nixon and Kennedy are described as new faces for tomorrow. They are indeed new, but in a way which must give us pause. Their newness consists actually in their facelessness, their technological impersonality. They are machine men—not in the old way of the personal political bosses but in the new way of "engineers of consent." The old political bosses still had something human about them. They had the weaknesses of their prejudices, which were at least *their* prejudices. Nixon and Kennedy belong to a generation without conviction—the *bland generation*. They are not interested in answering the question "What do you believe?" The only way they know how to answer this question is in terms of public-opinion polls and image-making. In the absence of conviction the problem is only to find the winning formula. Beside this spirit Eisenhower and Stevenson look positively antediluvian. Forty years of intellectual and moral confusion combined with material and technological growth have finally produced their inevitable result.

The "newness" of Nixon and Kennedy in other respects is illusory. They both travel on images of the past, Kennedy trying to invoke the spirit of Roosevelt and Nixon to prolong the magic of Eisenhower. They are simulacra of originality. Neither one shows any real comprehension of the world revolution for peace and freedom which is slowly developing both in the Western world and in the Communist countries. At a time when men of imagination and vision are needed, the American political scene has been taken over by two men who have so far distinguished themselves as public-relations manipulators, power-play experts and old-time military-firsters.

R. F.

CRISIS IN THE CONGO

The haste with which the Belgian government acted when it finally decided to grant independence to the Congo is a vivid illustration of the

tremendous momentum which the freedom struggle in Africa has attained. It is to be expected that action for independence in East Africa and elsewhere will be stepped up. It seems most unlikely that all this will take place without stimulating new activity in the very tense situation in South Africa. Compared to such events, the excitement about the election campaign in the United States seems piddling indeed.

It appears to be well established, incredible as it may seem, that the Belgian occupation of the Congo actually failed to provide for, and essentially prevented, the training of any Congolese physicians, technical and scientific personnel, and administrators. There are only half a dozen Congolese university graduates, according to New York Times dispatches. Even in the months after Belgium decided to grant independence, apparently nothing was done to train Congolese to take over. The failure to provide educational opportunity in the past is a shocking instance of the injustice and inhumanity of Western colonialism. The failure more recently to provide some emergency training suggests either that Belgian interests wanted to create chaos and thus retain their hold in Africa or that they were abysmally stupid. In either case, here is another grievous indictment against the West for its dealings with colored peoples.

When one considers such matters and reflects on the long background of brutal treatment of colonial peoples in the past, it would seem that the unfortunate cases of savage treatment to which some whites have been subjected have been surprisingly few in number. Much, much worse might reasonably have been feared. It seems to us that there is no evidence whatever of a general attitude of hatred against whites or desire to exact vengeance for the African blood shed in the past. It would seem that, understandably, there was great tension felt by both blacks and whites when independence came, tension which, accidentally, rather than by design or in an organized fashion, exploded in some places.

Provisionally, it would seem that the United Nations has done a commendable job. What seems of most importance in this context is that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union wanted to force the

issue by sending troops. The situation is basically another setback for the West, and presumably the Soviet strategists can contentedly watch things take their course, at least for a time.

A. J. M.

POLARIS ACTION

A slick advertising brochure for General Dynamics Corporation (manufacturers of Polaris submarines) has on its back cover a lyric poem to Polaris, "winged messenger of the deep," and a strikingly beautiful drawing of a distant ocean city, which, at first glance, appears to be bathed in the soft light of the setting sun. Between the water in the foreground and the city in the background is a lovely candescent arc which appears at first to be one of nature's most beautiful sights, a full rainbow, ancient symbol of hope. It is only by an effort that one discovers that the scene is really the first stage of the destruction of a huge city by a nuclear missile.

A single Polaris submarine carries 16 nuclear missiles with combined destructive power equal to all the bombs dropped by all American planes in World War II. Two have been finished, and forty-eight, "even heavier and larger," are in various stages of preparation.

Since June, Polaris Action, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, has been conducting a wide range of activities to challenge reliance on such grim weapons.

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of Polaris Action is the extent to which it has succeeded in failing. It has gotten under the skins of a lot of persons engaged in manufacturing or manning the submarines and has forced them to consider the disturbing fact that there is more involved in their work than pioneering in technology or drawing a full pay check. The superficial result has been a good deal of hostility and some minor violence (not necessarily minor to the persons who have been assaulted). The more significant result has been the continuing, varied, and mutually beneficial confrontation of pacifists and war workers. Indicative of the latter was an open meeting which made quite an impression on me because, as chairman of the meeting, I drew the lot of trying to maintain order and communication between the two groups. Early in the evening, Bill Henry, a pacifist, was describing the experiences of three Polaris Action-

ers who had rowed from New York to New London, leafleteering and talking with people on the way. He told how they had rowed past a submarine in the New London harbor and how the sailors had crowded to the side and watched them. At this point, he was interrupted by a serious young man (one of the few visitors who did not look as if he had come to heckle or start a riot) who explained that the reason he and the others had watched so earnestly was that "we are under orders to shoot anyone who tries to board." The immediate response of many of the pacifists was a derisive guffaw—an understandable reaction among people who have spent years talking to themselves in small groups of the "enlightened" but an act of insensitivity which ran counter to the aims of the meeting.

As the meeting progressed and more and more naval and shipyard workers arrived, it became clear that they were torn between an impulse to break up the meeting and a need to exchange ideas with those who were questioning the morality and the practicality of their daily work. Too often their comments met with responses that were more appropriate to in-group discussion than to the urgency of their need. But it was obvious that a badly needed process of interaction was taking place, which would tend, in different ways, to make each group become more realistic about the dark period in which we are living. At one point, after a rather typical pacifist discussion about the morality of "pushing the button" that would launch a missile, a group of naval men shoved forward one of their group to comment as one of the men whose job it would be to "push the button." We all know of men (like the co-pilot of the plane that bombed Hiroshima) whose lives have been shattered by their realization, *after* the event, of the enormity of the violence in which they have shared. Polaris Action is raising questions *before* the event in face-to-face encounters with workers from whom pacifists have been isolated too long.

A few physical attacks on members of the project and on the headquarters have raised sharply some of the implications of nonviolence. It is not pleasant to face flailing fists, to have one's signs ripped out of one's hands, or to see rocks come flying through a plate glass window. But these are a small taste of the realities faced by anti-fascists in Germany and Italy, by

anti-Communists in many countries, and by anti-segregationists in the South today. As the pacifist movement begins to pass from childhood to adolescence and as nonviolent resistance begins to become "socially relevant" (in both cases largely because of the bankruptcy of violence in the present state of technology), we will have to learn to face such attacks creatively. A good beginning has been made at New London, where members of Polaris Action refused to ask for police protection after being threatened and assaulted, at the shipyard and in the office. Paradoxically, we can only disarm our opponents by disarming completely, ourselves. But when we disarm ourselves we begin, at least, to disarm two persons—ourselves *and* our opponents. On our first return to the shipyard after an earlier visit had ended in violence, I heard two of the more hostile workers complain: "It doesn't do any good to hit them because they won't hit you back." In this and other encounters (many of them more friendly), I felt that we had begun to get across to some of them, and to ourselves, what we mean when we say (often too glibly) that if unilateral disarmament did not succeed in completely pacifying our "enemies" we should oppose enemy occupation not only by strikes and non-cooperation, but also by nonviolent resistance. Perhaps the question that is so often thrown at pacifists—what would you do if someone socked you in the jaw—is not so irrelevant as it sometimes seems. Like the laws of physics, the laws of violence and the laws of love apply on a small scale as well as a large, and often can be learned first in a small area and then carried over to more extensive applications. At any rate, just as many persons reject nonviolence on a world level because they cannot imagine themselves handling personal attack nonviolently, I feel that international nonviolence was made more understandable to some people in New London by the ability of Brad Lyttle, Adriaan Maas and others to react creatively to personal attack. Polaris Action, like the movement for integration, is providing a worldly laboratory where nonviolence is being explored and tested in action. Whatever effect these encounters may finally have on the war workers, they are a prerequisite for the development of a nonviolence which will be not a refuge for the converted but a dynamic agent in world affairs.

D. D.

THE LOGIC OF ANNIHILATION

LANZA DEL VASTO

WITHOUT QUESTION, it is risky to have only inferior armaments in comparison with competing powers. It is probably even more risky than not to be armed at all. What could be more reasonable than to attempt to catch up if we have been so unfortunate as to have fallen behind? But by the same token, what could be more reasonable than that those who have surpassed us should be anxious not to lose their lead, and that those whom we have outstripped should be determined to catch up with us? Again, what could be more reasonable than to say to ourselves, "If we possess the ultimate weapon, our terror-stricken rival will have to stop and think, and we will be secure against his attack or confident of overcoming his resistance"?

The rival will stop and think, all right, but about what, unless it be the best way to obtain the ultimate weapon himself, for identical reasons? Granted. But what could be more reasonable than that both sides should provide themselves with weapons of "deterrence," to adopt the excessively suave vocabulary of our strategists and political men, who also talk about the "balance of terror," on which they propose to base our security.

This is why our strict and parsimonious treasurers, our profit-hungry financiers, our production-minded technicians, our government officials who shudder at the thought of a budget deficit are ready to sink billions into this undertaking, with the sole aim of rendering it useless. What could be more reasonable? After all, doesn't the "balance of terror" offer us our last chance for peace? But to speak of the balance of terror is to evoke the squared circle or the white blackbird.

It is written that, "Fear is the beginning of wisdom," and this is obviously true of the fear of making a mistake, for example, or the fear of doing injury to our neighbor, or the fear of God. But the darkest manias have their origin in terror.

Since there seems to be no defense against this weapon except a reliance on the enemy's fear that we may have an equally powerful one, each power tries to protect itself by becoming more formidable, and the more it menaces, the more it is, in turn, menaced. A vicious circle is created, a vortex whose only possible issue is death. Every power that enters the vortex drags a chain of others along with it, and the first to be dragged in is the last one it likes to see break into its own orbit: its

worst enemy. And as the number of nations granted the privilege of blowing up the world increases, the consequent dangers are multiplied. Just suppose that a false report or a misunderstanding causes the people of another country to be seized by panic or a jittery head of state believes he has strong evidence that we are about to launch a surprise attack: won't he be tempted to strike first and annihilate us with one blow?

But even if the belligerents manage to resist the temptation at the first moment, will they be able to resist it at the last? Is it inconceivable that the side that concludes it has been beaten will, in a desperate access of rage, hurl down its trump card? Does anyone believe for a moment that when Hitler, in his underground hiding place, put a bullet through his brain and consigned himself to the flames, he would have deprived himself of the macabre satisfaction of bringing the whole world down with him?

Not long ago, a British Minister of Defense declared unequivocally that there is no possible defense against a nuclear attack. The only reassurance he could give to the nation was the reminder that an automatic mechanism would quickly return the blow in equal measure. He concluded this historic address by congratulating his listeners on taking things so well. And well he might! For if I am going to be pulverized, I am not at all sure that the thought of a posthumous revenge inflicted on millions of innocent people will console me very much.

But, it will be argued, it is not a question of revenge, but rather one of protection: if the enemy is convinced that he will not escape retaliation even if he annihilates us, he will refrain from attack, and the innocent people on both sides will be spared.

I am not so sure. If the ability to retaliate depends upon simple and immediate ejection from a delicate mechanism, the mechanism must be under the constant surveillance of certain technicians. Let us imagine that the enemy bribes one of them to cut the transmitting wire, thus assuring himself (whether rightly or wrongly) that the retaliation will never take place. All the terrible ingenuity of our formidable equipment will have proved vain and illusory. It is also conceivable that the ejection could occur, without evil intention, skill or treason, by a sheer technical accident. It is further possible that a slight malfunctioning of the mechanism could result

in the Bomb's being dropped on a peaceful neighbor, on an ally, or on ourselves.

Grebouille was the name of that village idiot who jumped into a duckpond to shelter himself from the rain. Grebouille was a precursor: he is the patron saint of our military strategists, our politicians, our valiant defenders and enlightened leaders.

But however we may fearfully anticipate the terror of that day when the Bomb actually falls on people and the hysterical responses it will evoke, at the moment nothing is more astonishing than the total lack of fear, the endemic indifference and lack of awareness.

"All will be as it was in the days of Noe," said Jesus, "In those days before the flood, they went on eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage . . . and they were taken unawares when the flood came and drowned them all."

"Prophet, do not prophesy!" they cried, as they had to Elijah, "Seer, do not see: tell us rather of agreeable things."

We look at pictures of Hiroshima and yawn—Japan is so far away. We shrug our shoulders at the eloquent appeals of Einstein and Schweitzer; what can we do about it? Best not to think about it; let us amuse ourselves while we can.

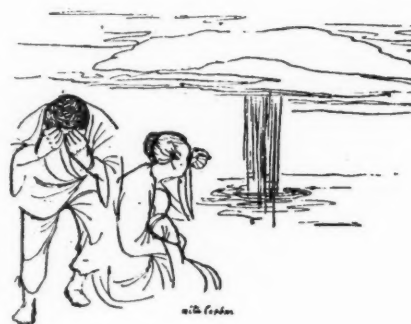
One way we can amuse ourselves is by applauding, with open mouths and noses in the air, the space ships. We can marvel at the superior wisdom of those who dream of inhabiting the moon after they have rendered the earth uninhabitable. Let us hope that science and technology will learn to fabricate excellent vegetables, against the day when they shall have succeeded in contaminating all those that the earth now produces in so clumsy and laborious a fashion.

Let us listen to the sober political man who informs us that the more bombs we have in reserve the greater the chances for peace. Let us listen trustfully to the government scientist whose official function consists of demonstrating that "every precaution has been taken to safeguard the population"; and, above all, let us listen to the theologian who explains that all this is quite orthodox, that you will search Saint Thomas in vain for any argument against nuclear armament and that it would be most imprudent to advance novel opinions and objections to the teaching on "just war." Indeed, war is so just that it is doubly just: just on one side and just on the other. And, soldier, if you are in doubt you can abstain—abstain from thinking and pull the trigger!

"Nation will rise again in arms against nation, kingdom against kingdom, and there will be plagues and famines and earthquakes in this region or that; but all this is but the beginning of travail." (Mt. 24. 8)

When the explosion took place at Hiroshima, there was a dazzling brightness and the entire center of the

city was sheathed in lightning. A gale rose up from the city with such violence that it tore the clothes off survivors. Women wearing kimonos found themselves naked, with the designs of the cloth branded into their scorched flesh. People's bodies were raked with pinpoints of flame. Hundreds of thousands were exterminated instantly; others saw themselves waste away for a decade. To get away from the earth, which was as hot as the lid of a furnace, some people hurled themselves into the river, but the water was boiling hot.



"The nations will be in distress, bewildered by the roaring of the sea and its waves; men's hearts will be dried up with fear." (Lk. 21. 26)

The five hundred thousand tons of nitric acid that an H-bomb produces, the two million tons of dust that it raises intercept the light of the sun. A thousand of them would hide its light forever and render the earth a defunct planet.

"The sun and the moon and the stars will give portents . . . the very powers of heaven will rock." (Lk. 21)

"For those days will be days of distress, such as has not been since the beginning of creation till now, and can never be again." (Mk. 13. 19)

"After all," some people say, "perhaps it is the will of God that the earth should perish," and they say this with a cheerful serenity that would be truly sublime, if it was the fruit of total detachment. But the very people who so magnanimously accept the end of everyone in a Deluge of Fire tremble at the thought of losing their job or offending their neighbors or appearing to be unpatriotic (by protesting against the Bomb, for example). Their serenity would be sublime, except that it is idiotic. So enfeebled is their imagination and their good sense that they are incapable of simple animal fear. They go where they are led, like cattle to the slaughter, with this difference, that they philosophize all the way, and with the further difference that no brute animal con-

structs its own *abattoir* or forges the knife that will cut its own throat.

"They have eyes to see, and see not; ears to hear, and hear not."

"And God hardened the heart of Pharaoh. . ."

Virgil said: *Quos vult perdere Jupiter dementat.* (Whom Jupiter wishes to destroy, he first makes mad.)

Until, finally, one madman, among so many millions of madmen, unwittingly finishes us all off.



It is true, we will be told, that the first atomic bomb killed three hundred thousand people with one explosion, but a lot more than three hundred thousand people were killed, without there being any particular outcry, by conventional bombs in a series of explosions. Numbers have nothing to do with it. If we are to renounce the Bomb, we must also renounce the cannon, the rifle, the sword. Even then, there will always be stones around, when I want to bash my neighbor's head in.

Some people use this argument to demonstrate that any attempt to disarm, on however modest a scale, is futile and ridiculous, given the fact that war is inevitable, hence necessary, and indeed beneficial and glorious. Others use the same argument because they regard all war as a crime and believe that it is futile and ridiculous to press for anything short of total and immediate disarmament.

To the latter, we reply that total and immediate disarmament cannot be enforced; and we will go further and say that even if by some miracle it could be enforced, it would remain ineffective, because one can kill others (and oneself) not only with the rock, with water and fire, with the bread-knife, with the incense-burner, but also with the tongue, with hatred and suspicion, with indifference. If we are going to renounce all weapons, we will first of all have to renounce the readiness to take life.

So disarmament cannot be the first step. It has to be the second. The first step is an *agreement* (not accord, not mutual love; I want to confine myself to the minimum step, short of which nothing can be done). Total disarmament would involve such a reversal in our age-old habits and attitudes that no one could dream of its being accomplished at one stroke; we have to proceed gradually. To hope for the first step is already a great deal.

Obviously, this first step must be one whose necessity is admitted by all reasonable men; it must be something about which everyone will understand the urgency of an agreement, under pain of death. Which is why we concentrate on the Bomb, without implying in any way that we approve of other weapons. The One who said, "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword," did not wait for the invention of the Bomb to condemn

war and point out that it carries with it its own punishment.

As for the former group, who justify war, we shall not dispute the force of their main argument, which is that of "legitimate defense." Nor shall we contest the right of the man who is waylaid on a dark street to kill his attacker, if there is no better way of saving his own life. We do not deny that the homicidal maniac who fires at passersby should be felled, if that is the only way to stop him from injuring others. But what we maintain vigorously is that these are incidental and exceptional cases, borderline cases, and that we must be very careful not to erect them into exemplary cases and derive from them general laws, and especially theories of legitimate conduct. The vast majority of human conflicts occur in an entirely different way, they are susceptible of legal or moral solutions, in short, of human solutions; to return blow for blow until the stronger is proved right is to act in the order of animal reflex and has nothing to do with right or rationality.

In war, who is the aggressor? Each side says that it is the other. This has gone to such lengths that nowadays the Minister of War is called the "Minister of National Defense." "If everyone is only defending himself, whence comes the attack?" asked Tolstoy.

If we begin by justifying defense, we have to proceed to justify attack as a preventive form of defense, or as a response to provocation, or as a revolt against the oppressor, or as reconquest of property that has been seized from us; or to wrest from a rival property that is necessary to our welfare, or that he does not use, or has illegally acquired; or to defend our honor, fulfill our obligations, maintain our prestige; or to divert attention from scandals in high places, solve the unemployment problems, transform internal discontent into hostility against the foreigner; or to extend civilization, propagate the true faith, liberate the vanquished, build peace on justice and justice on strength . . .

As the chain of frenzy and horror stretches out, the chain of justifications grows longer and longer. And the only retort we can make is that the reasons are all too good. They are so good that there is no cause that cannot be justified, no atrocity that cannot be rationalized by the justice of the cause. And this mass of justifications, so intricately connected that it is useless to challenge any particular one, blankets entirely the Fifth Commandment of God:

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

which was handed down on a tablet of stone and without margins provided on which to hang up commentaries. So instead of placing their commentaries above or below, they have placed them *over* the words. And in place of the commandment of God, we now have all sorts of human permissions and injunctions to the contrary. The result is that war comes like a scourge. A scourge fash-

ioned by man's hand. And everyone knows that it is a chastisement of God. How do we know that it is a chastisement of God? Because the guilty apply themselves to it with zeal, with obstinacy, and adapt it to their own circumstances.



To the concatenation of *legitimate acts of violence*, those that find their justification in the *wrongs of the adversary*, there are two alternative issues, and only two: either, as History has demonstrated, perpetual war, and now with the advent of total war and the ultimate weapon, Total Destruction; or the Breaking of the Chain, Liberation, Transformation, in short, Nonviolence.

Nonviolence was taught in the Gospels two thousand years ago, and five centuries earlier by Buddha, and ten centuries before Buddha, by Joseph, the son of Jacob of Israel. A continuing tradition of saints, sages and prophets has laid down its necessary spiritual conditions and interior dispositions. In our own century Gandhi has demonstrated its practical applications in situations of extreme danger and has proved that this Resistance by Soul Force (for it is very much a matter of force and struggle rather than of resignation and passivity) is capable of repelling an invader, even one that is a thousand times better armed, even one that has been installed in the country for over a century. He has shown that it is capable of lifting up an oppressed class, as is proved by the liberation of the untouchables, capable of ending a war in a few days (the massacre of Hindus and Pakistanis were abruptly brought to a halt).

Justice demands of us that we fight for it to the death, but these historical examples point the way to other forms of combat, and teach us that the recourse to war, which was always dubious and is today disastrous, is from now on *unnecessary*.



Having expressed my central thought in a few words, I return to the original point, namely, the Bomb, and address myself to those who cannot follow me all the way, who cling to the sensible and traditional argument that arms are justified by the necessity of war and war by the necessity of defense. Even granting that this was once true—and it was certainly a plausible view in the time of MacMahon, and even in the time of Joffre and Foch—the fact remains that nuclear weapons are qualitatively different from all others. The number of victims and the amount of havoc are not the only factors to be considered: there are certain critical points, certain passages beyond limits at which the quantitative difference affects the very quality of things and the nature of problems.

If war is, up to a certain point, admissible as defense, as the lesser evil, as advantageous, in spite of the immediate and certain evil that it brings about, because of the

higher good at which it aims, it follows that armament is admissible only when there is a balance between offensive and defensive weapons.

The Middle Ages, which are said to have been barbarous, but which were a time of epic and chivalry, were characterized by a remarkable preponderance of defensive weapons. Their offensive arms are almost as rudimentary (except for their form and ornamentation) as those of the cavemen: slingshots, bows and arrows, maces, axes, swords, lances—that is about all. But what marvellous technique and inventive genius went into defense! Coat of mail, complete armor for man and horse, helmet with visor, articulated gauntlets, shield, movable carapace over carapace, and then ramparts, double and triple curtains, moats, drawbridges, nailed grilles, metal-plated doors, watchtowers, turrets, battlements, chicanes, barbicans, machicolations, the dungeon and subterranean passages. The knight is practically invulnerable; it is often impossible to scale the ramparts. Citadels and castles must be reduced to starvation or taken by treason. An historic battle costs a few dozen lives. The defeated enemy was taken prisoner, released upon receipt of a moderate ransom, and often freed on his word. War retained some of the aspects of the tourney; it was a game, occasionally fatal, but then accidentally so, a test of valor, a noble adventure.

With the introduction of the cannon and the musket, the predominance of offensive weapons appears (and soon the chivalric virtues become obsolete and discredited). The armor is smashed; the castle walls crumble. Man ends by exposing his unprotected breast to the bullets, his only defense the chance of passing between the balls or bullets, his only shield the ranks of those in front of him.

The First World War marks the extreme limit of the renunciation of all forms of defense, except for the most elementary, which consists of burrowing in the ground, of throwing oneself belly-flat in the cavities and recesses of the earth. The assault waves advance, making a rampart out of hundreds of thousands of corpses. In the end, we see reappearing a precarious helmet as protection against stray bullets, shrapnel, and falling stones, and in the last months, tanks (assault chariots) to break through the trenches.

Between the two wars, a whole defensive system is erected, based on faulty calculations and outmoded strategic theories. The Maginot Line is put up, or rather sunk down under the earth. But at the first probe, this new Wall of China topples like a sandcastle; by means of aerial attack and parachute troops, it is leaped over and taken from the rear. It is later to be the same with the pillboxes of the Atlantic Wall and the Siegfried Line.

Moreover, the armies at the front constitute but very imperfect protection for the civilian population, which is exposed to aerial incursion and long-range bombard-

ment. This kind of attack can be opposed only by "passive defense," such as taking shelters in cellars, trying to shoot down planes, or pursuing them. Against missiles, nothing of this sort would be effective, and even underground shelters would be no protection against atomic bombing, which can cause long-term contamination of the surface of the earth, on which we depend for air and sustenance.



The sword is a weapon that is both offensive and honorable. It is offensive only at the point; the rest of it is defensive. The Bomb is the weapon that is dishonorable and *forbidden*, by definition, because it cannot be parried. If the legitimacy of a struggle is determined by its defensive character, the ultimate weapon, against which there is no defense, is wholly offensive and absolutely evil.



Now whatever is absolutely evil is also absurd. We can understand a man's sacrificing himself for his homeland and for his family, but when at the same time he destroys those for whom he is sacrificing, we no longer refer to his action as sacrifice, but as suicide and unpardonable crime. To die in nuclear war is to die thrice over: to die oneself, to die in one's children, and to die with all creation. And, finally, to die for nothing.



O my friends! Lift up your eyes, hurry and lift them up to the sky while it is still blue. Touch the earth before it crumbles to dust. Run to drink at the spring, while it is still uncontaminated; bathe in the sea before it is infected.

But above all, turn your eyes to your children at play before they come down with a lingering illness, before their blood begins to curdle, before they begin to die by inches. You are afraid the poor little ones will wet their feet and catch cold. You worry about whether they will pass their examinations. But you never give a moment's thought, do you, to the ingenious plagues that the dabblers in atoms are preparing for them?



There is a role for France to play at this turning-point in history. We do not believe in the "nuclear mission of France," we believe in her chivalric mission. The methods of Massive Destruction are the antithesis of every virtue of chivalry. To exterminate the enemy in mechanical fashion, from a distance, without even having seen them, men, women, the old, and children indiscriminately, is contrary to every concept of justice, honor and nobility. It is hardly a question of prestige.

July-August 1960

To prepare in cold blood this atrocious crime is a mark of the most extreme cowardice and vileness. It is a stratagem inspired by terror—a deluded stratagem that will cause us to be caught in our own snare.

Fortunate are the peoples who are not presented with this temptation, and more fortunate still those whose spiritual depth or simple good sense have enabled them to resist it. Whatever people may think, it is those who do not possess the Bomb who have the best chance of surviving. For if a conflict breaks out between two powers that possess nuclear weapons, it will inevitably become a nuclear conflict (the heads of state have made unambiguous declarations to this effect). But if a conflict breaks out between one power that has nuclear weapons and another that does not, it is probable that the nuclear power will confine itself to the use of conventional weapons (as happened in Korea) even though this will make a decisive victory unlikely. The weaker the adversary is from a military viewpoint, the more likely is this to be true. Even the most ambitious and inhuman of conquerors could find no satisfaction in ruling over an obliterated population or annexing radioactive wastes. To think in terms of conquest or defense in relation to nuclear war is to display an obsolete turn of mind, to imagine oneself still back in the good old days of *Déroulède*.*

The future belongs to the peoples who do not have the Bomb. Moreover, they constitute the majority, the bedrock, the reserve. Will they be clear-sighted enough to perceive that not to have the Bomb is an honor, a boon, security? Will they learn to stand up to the Disintegrators and dissuade them? Which country will be able to speak in their name, support them, draw them together, and by doing so cover herself with glory in their eyes, unless it be the country *that could possess the ultimate weapon but renounces it*? This is the role in the foreground that France could maintain.

Will France abandon these peoples and instead try to emulate the Great Powers, a pygmy between two nuclear giants, arousing hatred and mistrust on all sides, committing herself to much toil, vexation and danger, for the sole purpose of establishing her right to take part in the Great Destruction? Or will she show that she has the intelligence, the courage and the freedom to take on the mission that will cause her to be honored and blessed, not only by the entire population of the world, but by future generations as well?

(Translated by Martin J. Corbin)

*Tr. note: French patriotic poet who died in 1914.

THE CRISIS IN SANE

A. J. MUSTE

I AM HERE ATTEMPTING to suggest some basic attitudes or political "principles" which should guide workers in the peace movement in dealing with such a crisis as recently developed in the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, i. e. with the problem of how to deal with Communists and other pro-Soviet people in non-Communist peace organizations. I am not trying to say how specific cases should be dealt with. Whatever basic approaches one adopts in dealing with the problem, the application is not simple. The situation is complex and fluid, and those who think there are ready-to-hand solutions are the farthest off base.

After writing a preliminary memorandum on the subject of this essay, I came upon the almost perfect text for it in an article in the June 1960 issue of *Commentary*, on "The American Crisis," written by David Riesman and Michael Maccoby. They refer to a passage in Edward Shils' book *The Torment of Secrecy*, which notes that the British fear spies, invaders and secrets less than we do, and have never been as hysterical about Communism. Then Riesman and Maccoby observe: "Even after the Klaus Fuchs case, they in effect decided that they would rather risk losing a few secrets to a few spies than turn the country upside down in the alleged hope of flushing all enemy agents out."

SANE has recently grown into a fairly large organization, with a following beyond the traditional pacifist ranks. It began with the objective of an international agreement to end nuclear tests. Its program has recently been broadened to include advocacy of controlled disarmament. The program is far from radical. It is a moderate one, in which quite possibly the great majority of Americans privately believe, though they may feel apathetic about it or, after experience with the old Communist Party peace fronts on the one hand, and McCarthyism on the other, not inclined to stick their necks out for a "peace" program. The program and utterances of SANE have not been remotely subversive or pro-Soviet. The program is certainly one which Americans should be perfectly free to discuss and promote. The policy-makers of SANE have included such people as Norman Cousins, Clarence Pickett, Norman Thomas, Hugh C. Wolfe, and Lenore Marshall, none of whom have any record of belonging to the C. P. or "united fronts," or of pro-Sovietism, or anything of the sort. All of them are, on the contrary, vigorous opponents of basic aspects of Communist philosophy and program and champions of democracy. In SANE, their activities were essentially in support of the declared policy of the Eisenhower Administration to end nuclear testing and disarm.

In spite of all this, about two weeks before a Madison Square Garden rally, scheduled for May 19th, at which Alf Landon, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Walter Reuther were to be speakers, the vice-chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Senator Thomas Dodd, of Connecticut, (Senator James Eastland, of Mississippi, is chairman) threatened to attack SANE on the ground that Communists were in influential positions. The revelation of this "scandal" was to be made on the eve of the rally. It should be noted here that Senator Dodd had shortly before put himself on record as opposed to ending nuclear tests and is in general committed to the nuclear-deterrence policy.

The Committee began its attack by summoning Henry Abrams, who had managed the promotion end of the rally, but had had no voice in its program or in the selection of speakers, for questioning about Communist affiliations and sympathies. Abrams refused to answer and took the Fifth Amendment.*

Norman Cousins, co-chairman of SANE with Clarence Pickett (who was away from the scene of action at the time), called Abrams into his office, and told him that he was prepared to defend him against the inquisition at the hands of the Dodd Committee, but wanted Abrams to tell him man to man that he was not a Communist. Abrams declined to do that, but said he would give Cousins or anyone else categorical assurance that he was not under orders of any individual or organization but made his own decisions. I understand it is agreed that as a member of SANE, chairman of its Upper West Side branch in New York, and as promoter of the rally, Abrams had behaved correctly and operated in line with SANE policies.

When, however, he declined to tell Cousins that he was not a Communist, the latter informed him that from that moment he was fired from any office in SANE. This

* For the benefit of some of our readers it should perhaps be stated that Abrams is a well-known figure in New York political life and certainly has made no secret of the fact that he has been prominently active in the past in such organizations as the American Labor Party and in the Wallace campaign in 1948, in which the C. P. was also active and C. P. members very influential. Among those who are somewhat familiar with the political scene and who are not themselves emotional anti-Communists there are some who think Abrams was at one time a C. P. member, and probably none could be found to assert that he simply could not have been. On the other hand, he was more recently engaged in some political activity which the C. P. opposed. I am mentioning these matters, partly to indicate to members of SANE that I am aware of "problems" in the situation, but even more in order to make it perfectly clear that in any case I adhere to the positions taken in this article.

was modified a few minutes later to a suspension. Cousins took this upon himself as co-chairman, stating that it remained to be seen whether the board would sustain him. Before going further, I should make clear that in what follows, I am not impugning Norman Cousins' motives and that I am aware of his great service to many causes, including civil liberties.

Cousins then got in touch with Senator Dodd, whom he knows personally, and asked him to postpone until after the Madison Square Garden rally the speech he planned to make in the Senate pointing out that Communists were infiltrating SANE and calling on Cousins and others, whose integrity and patriotism he did not question, to clean house. It is also clear that Cousins indicated to Dodd that he, and presumably other SANE leaders, would welcome information from Dodd's files about people holding office in SANE, nationally or locally, who might be Communists or Communist sympathizers. Ironically, it later became pretty clear that agents of the Dodd Committee, or perhaps of the F. B. I., are numerous enough in SANE and sufficiently skilled to have placed in Dodd's hands full inside information about its personnel and activities on both national and local levels.

It seems to me that Cousins committed a grave and what may yet prove to be an irreparable error in the way he dealt with Senator Dodd and his threat to expose SANE. Surely, in view of experience with individuals and Congressional committees engaged in political inquisition, and on the basis of elementary democratic principle, the only way to have dealt with the Senator would have been to tell him to drop his bomb, if he regarded that to be his duty and a virtuous act. It would have been, furthermore, to attack the principle on which such committees operate and to join with those who have called for their abolition by Congress, assuring Senator Dodd that this would be one of the emphases to be introduced into the program of the rally. Dodd should also have been told that SANE would defend Abrams against the Subversive Activities Committee and assert his constitutional right to plead the Fifth Amendment before such a Committee, whatever personal views SANE leaders might hold about the *wisdom* of such a plea.

There are two basic reasons for asserting that this was the only sound first step. In the first place, these investigative agencies perpetrate an intolerable invasion of the liberties of citizens. They are agencies of thought control. They belong in a totalitarian not a democratic society. We should have learned our lesson from the blight of McCarthyism which descended on this nation not long ago. The fact that Senator Dodd may lack some of McCarthy's personal characteristics and that he may operate in a less crude fashion does not fundamentally alter the evil. It may conceivably make it more serious.

We desperately need a great national debate on foreign policy and other issues. We cannot have it under the threat of political inquisition which these agencies represent.

There could hardly be a better proof of this than the fact that Norman Cousins, a good, brave and educated man, instantly feared what an attack by Senator Dodd might do to SANE. If this is the effect on such a man, imagine what fear does to ordinary people in a society where conformism is a dominant element. Moreover, fear in the presence of this phenomenon is just the way not to react to it. It feeds on fear and becomes more menacing. This fear inhibits the confrontation of unorthodox ideas, whether "subversive" or not, by individuals, and by voluntary associations, which is the only way in which erroneous or dangerous ideas can be effectively dealt with.

In the second place, SANE was not merely presented with a simple, if grave, civil-liberties issue. As was further illustrated in the effort of the Dodd Committee to get Linus Pauling to reveal the names of people who helped him get the signatures of some eleven thousand scientists all over the world to a petition calling for an agreement to end nuclear testing, these Congressional committees are instruments of the Cold War. They stand for the policy of nuclear deterrence. They aim to discredit and weaken the peace movement. No peace organization which allows itself to be intimidated or pressured by such agencies or which has any commerce with them can maintain its integrity or develop drive and power.

As I stated at the outset, I am not trying in this article to set forth in detail how a specific case, such as that of Henry Abrams, should be dealt with by a specific organization, in this case SANE. Obviously, I believe that it should be handled in the spirit of this article. So far as I know as this is written, the matter is still in process. But I wish to emphasize that, whatever problems either Abrams' past or his conduct in SANE may present, the initial response to the Dodd Committee attack on him was fundamentally bad. Unless this is publicly admitted, there is bound to be, in my view, a serious weakness in the ultimate disposition of the matter, and therefore SANE itself will be weakened. It should be pointed out that the national board of SANE has in part recognized this by including in a resolution an expression of "resentment" against the Dodd Committee for its intrusion into SANE's affairs. But this is by no means enough.

There are indeed some non-Communists who come very close to taking the position that almost anyone, no matter what his background or even his present affiliations may be, should be taken into SANE groups if he wishes to join, and should be "judged solely on his behavior in SANE." If he works on the basis of policy and directives, that is sufficient. If the result is that SANE groups are largely made up of persons who are

pretty strongly pro-Soviet, so be it: "That's how the cookie crumbles."

The United Front Fallacy

Let me begin by remarking that I think it is erroneous and dangerous to approach this problem simply on the basis that as Quakers or humanists or whatever we must regard all human beings as fellow humans, must trust them, judge them solely by what they are doing at the moment, and so on. According to Christian teaching, to take off from that, God loves sinners, not because they are after all not sinners, but because, though sinners, they are his children, and because only love can redeem the sinner and win him away from his sin. To love a fellow man does not require that we cooperate with him in lying or exploiting others or some other evil thing. It requires the opposite, that we do not cooperate in these things, that we do not let him live, if he is so living, under the delusion that these things are good. It means that we love him even while he does evil, believe that he is capable of redemption, try to call on "that of God" in him. To love, to be truly human, is always to deal with others on the basis of reality. Therefore it does not mean to trust a man whom you know to be deceiving: it means to try to change him and make him trustworthy, and this means trying to get him to see himself as he is. In another realm, to be human and to love does not mean to collaborate with a man who says he is working for peace, and supports the military policy and preparations of the Soviet Union or of the United States. The fact that we do not read Senator Eastland out of the human family does not mean that we collaborate with him in a campaign for "good race relations in the U. S.," nor does our refusal to bar Senator Dodd from the family of man require that we collaborate with him in "saving civil liberties in the U. S."

As a matter of fact I have not encountered non-Communists in SANE who advocate, e. g., united front for peace with the C. P. The non-Communists recognize that there is a problem, stemming in part, let us say, from past bad experiences with united fronts and in part from the nature of the C. P., which means that its members function "under orders" and that the party will follow the line of the C. P. of the Soviet Union and support that country's military preparations and foreign policy, even in such a case as Hungary, for example.

It would seem to follow logically that if a person in a SANE group were known to be a card-carrying member of the C. P., or over a period automatically followed its line, it would be entirely proper for the officers of a group to talk with such a person and point out that he does not properly belong in SANE. If such a person did not withdraw, I think the matter should be frankly discussed in the group with this person present. By the same logic that we condemn the attitude of suspicion generated by McCarthyism, we have to condemn the

engendering of suspicion in an organization by people who operate not as free participants in its activities but under orders of another body. To fail to draw some such line and thus in effect to take the C. P. into SANE is to favor a united front. If the C. P. does not like the policy here stated, let it openly establish its own peace movement and invite people into it, and we will vigorously defend its right to do so and not to be molested in such activity by Congressional inquisitions.

Two conditions need to be emphasized at this point. One, we are talking about specific cases of known present C. P. members, or consistent followers of the C. P. line, not persons accused of being Communists or pro-Communists by Congressional committees. Two, we are assuming a peace organization which has not compromised with Senator Dodd. If a line is to be drawn against adherents of one side in the Cold War and nuclear-war preparation, it must be consistently drawn against adherents of the other also.

For the rest, it seems to me that the basic decision which has to be made by organizations working for peace in seeking to maintain their own integrity and consequent effectiveness—as all private organizations certainly have a right to do—is between defining their programs, pronouncements and activities so clearly as against testing or other nuclear war preparation by *any* nation that those who really cannot accept that stand find the organization uncongenial and not useful for their purposes; or *else* to institute some system of loyalty oath and screening. It seems to me that the former is the sound course.

For one thing, if in order to guard against a state of constant suspicion because there may be people in the group who have ulterior motives, procedures are instituted which tend to put everyone under suspicion, the poison that drains the life of the organization has not been reduced but rather aggravated. The outcome of the contrasting procedures used in Great Britain, on the one hand, and the United States on the other, surely supports the view that it is better to take a few risks than to turn an organization or movement or society upside down in an effort to flush out questionable elements.

It is a question whether the most difficult problem an organization like SANE will run up against will come from people who have a background of pro-Soviet bias or from politically unsophisticated people who come fresh into the peace movement and become convinced by what they see and hear that Soviet policy is in fact a peace policy. Nothing will be gained by expelling these people or scaring them away: what they need is to be educated about the facts of life politically speaking, and this can only happen in a relaxed situation, not in a witch-hunt atmosphere.

On the other hand, we are living in a new period, and many people are in process of revising their thinking

and their associations. A good many former Communists and sympathizers are essentially sound people: it should not be necessary at this hour to argue against the idea that they will be Stalinists at heart forever. In Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere, it has been demonstrated that some of them never were. Moreover, many of these people are highly capable and trained for organizational work. It would seem a serious loss if they were barred from using these skills in the cause of peace. But if they find in a peace organization the same kind of dogmatism, suspicion, and obsession with orthodoxy that finally drove them out of the C. P., or its fronts, they will stop working. It would seem, therefore, that an organization which has clearly defined its purpose as stated above, could judge such people on the basis of actual performance rather than by subjecting them to a loyalty test in advance.

It is argued that the Soviet Union favors an agreement to end testing and that therefore a lot of people who are pro-Communist at heart can join a movement with this program, perhaps with ulterior motives. There is something to this. But we cannot refrain from advocating what we consider a sound measure because the Soviet government or the Communists also happen to be for it. Naturally, adherents of the tough school in the Soviet Union would like to have a rule that anything the U. S. is for, the U. S. S. R. must be against. They have their counterparts in adherents of the tough school here. We cannot let these Cold Warriors write the program of the peace movement or police the movement for us.

It is clear that in this country there can be no effective peace movement which is under the control of the C. P. or which is in any sense an instrument of the Soviet Foreign Office. We obviously have no guarantee that a movement not so controlled will not be *accused* of being one. It would be fatal to let the policy of the peace movement be dominated by the purpose of escaping criticism from those whose reason for existence is precisely to criticize and undermine it. Quite a long time ago, somebody said of John Foster Dulles' program that anti-Communism or anti-Sovietism is not a foreign policy. The evidence of the correctness of that observation is all about us now, in Turkey, Korea, Japan, Okinawa, and so on. Anti-Communism as such is not a program for a peace movement either, or for any radical cause. Any such movement must obviously be opposed to totalitarianism wherever it appears and has to reject elements—very fundamental ones—in Communist theory and practice; but it ultimately lives and grows on what it is for, on positive elements in its program.

This Is Not the Thirties

The problem of the Thirties and Forties was that the C. P. was relatively powerful and *it* was setting up peace fronts, which *it* controlled. It drew people into them under false pretences. I combatted this policy. As

I have already said, I am opposed to any united front with the C. P. now. But the peace movement in this country today is not being built by the C. P. SANE, for example, is in the hands of American liberals and pacifists. People who in any genuine sense want to work for peace have to accept this fact, and be governed by it. The fact may draw, among others, people who formerly belonged to C. P. fronts. It also means that they have "nowhere else to go." That is to say, the moment they try to establish "control" over such a movement or to divert it from the line of firm opposition to nuclear-war preparation and war-like moves by *any* nation, they render themselves impotent, for the movement will simply evaporate.

They are impotent, *provided* that there is a vigorous, militant peace movement, which is clearly against U. S. nuclear-war policy and therefore combats the Congressional political-inquisition agencies. In the absence of *such* a movement there would be a vacuum. I am not sure that such a vacuum could be filled, but if it were it would be by elements which profited by the default of American liberals, non-Stalinist radicals of various kinds, and pacifists.

Even as it is, SANE might very well have no such crisis as we are discussing if more Americans of good will, with no past in Communist or anti-Communist political activity, were drawn into it. It may well be that in some places such people have shied away because in the SANE group there were people whom they identified as Leftists. I do not wish to minimize this factor. But I feel certain that encouraging or condoning in any way the fear of guilt by association which is, in large measure, the aftermath of McCarthyism will not solve the problem. Socially-minded people have to get over their timidity. They have to be willing to take some risks, get into peace groups and "take them over" by the weight of their numbers and their moral force.

Finally, we must return to the question of clear definition of aims as the basic means to sort out those who belong in an organization. The out-and-out pacifist groups have not been seriously bothered over the years with Communist infiltration, because Communism rejects pacifism, and in the main Communists do not find pacifist organizations useful. I do not anticipate that groups which advocate some form of unilateral disarmament will run into this difficulty either, because Communist policy firmly rejects unilateralism.

The tasks before any peace movement which hopes to develop mass following and influence are (1) to develop a sufficiently radical program to meet the demands of the contemporary critical situation and (2) to carry on among its members and the people generally a continuous education in political analysis which will not hesitate to expose and criticize the realities of political behavior of all powers, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

The following article was printed in the May 20, 1960 issue of Student Life, published at Pomona College, Claremont, California. We are pleased to reprint it, along with an explanatory letter we received from Dr. Halsey, who is on the faculty at the Claremont Graduate School.

AMERICA'S NATIONAL PURPOSE

(an advertisement for LIFE magazine)

EDWIN HALSEY

"You probably know that LIFE buys space in college student newspapers. Here at Pomona the students have been reviewing current LIFE issue every week all year. LIFE asked them to write on 'our national purpose' in their last issue of the semester. Students asked me to write for them. I did. See enclosed article. LIFE cancelled its regular ad in the paper by prompt telegram."

DEFINING AMERICA'S national purpose in 1960 is like trying to legislate "the American way of life." The whole project—like many projects—is misconceived. The attempt itself is "un-American" according to our best standards. Maybe we should just say that the purpose of the American nation-state today is to become obsolete.

One of the troubles with being an editor of LIFE is that one loses the ability to think freely. For that one has to remain an amateur and a person of no public importance—a NON-V. I. P. Meanwhile LIFE editors think up debates like "What should be our national purpose?" It never crosses the back part of their minds that nations do not or should not HAVE purposes, that nationality today is almost a synonym for moral purposelessness. A modern nation is a large group of people who have forgotten the purpose of life. Insofar as these people can share a NATIONAL purpose, it is nefarious, involving massive retaliation and public hatred and tribal religion. National leaders behave like juvenile delinquents.

Nicolas Berdyaev remarked that nations may have dim collective "minds", but that they have no "souls" or moral personalities. However, most people think that a nation is more real than a person and certainly more important.

Lord Acton, the historian, prophetically warned us that "Nationality does not aim at either liberty or prosperity, both of which it sacrifices to the imperative necessity of making the nation the mould and measure of the state. Its course will be marked with material as well as moral ruin."

We didn't believe Lord Acton. We still don't, after all that has happened. We think we are smarter than that. We prefer Decatur's imbecilic slogan "right or

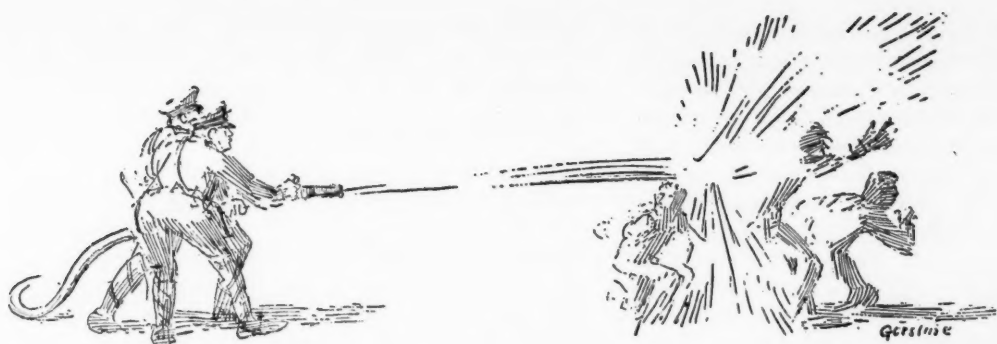
wrong, my country." Our schools inculcate idiotic patriotism and political orthodoxy.

Of course individual Americans ARE capable of genuine moral purpose, although the nation as such is not. As heirs of the Judae-Christian tradition we inherit and may personally accept the traditional "ends" of the good life and the big familiar names for them: Justice and Mercy, Love and Knowledge. There is nothing so new or so different about our age, however perilous it may have become because of our apostasy, that we can afford to renounce the ideals taught by the great prophets: Amos and Jesus, Thoreau and Kierkegaard, Tolstoy and Gandhi.

Our sense of having lost purpose comes from trying to cheat, to get something for nothing: from talking ideal ends but using evil means. We have chosen to trust to economic progress, technology, money, fun, white supremacy, public relations, research, anything almost, but we have refused to acknowledge the most basic facts of the moral universe. We thought we could put "In God We Trust" on the nickels, while we actually put our trust in everything else. We thought we could slaughter innocent non-combatants by the hundreds of thousands and escape the curse they called down on our heads. We thought we could erect a "free" world with missiles, investigating committees and acts of Congress. It was our means not our ends that we got all wrong, although the prophets had minced no words about the strict and necessary correspondence between ends and means.

The turning point came when everything started to get big. Big Business, Big Government, The Big Money, Big Bombs. We shall not have good purposes until we learn to "live small" again.

The largest genuine community of persons is perhaps
continued on page 31



A BLACK EYE FOR THE UN-AMERICANS

ROBERT MARTINSON

THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATION against the House Un-American Activities Committee began quietly enough. On the first morning, about two hundred student pickets came down, under the auspices of the Students for Civil Liberties of the University of California. A noon rally in San Francisco's Union Square was orderly and good-natured as it listened to Assemblymen Burton and O'Connell call for the abolition of the Committee. Bishop James A. Pike, of the Episcopal Diocese, asked the Committee to please go home.

The picketers marched down Geary and then Market Streets in a holiday mood, gathering supporters as they walked back to City Hall. The students cheerfully passed out thousands of copies of Congressman James Roosevelt's speech calling for the end of the Committee.

There were from six to eight hundred pickets at City Hall that afternoon. They surrounded the block, walking slowly and chatting. They were monitored by University students wearing blue paper armbands. A few police and curious onlookers stood around.

Inside City Hall, students and other citizens were lined up outside the Committee's chambers. They had been waiting all morning, and they were disgruntled. During the morning sessions the Committee had violated that fundamental American principle: first come, first served! A group of people sporting little white cards had filed past the line and filled the hearing room. (The rumor flew around that these "white cards" were all D. A. R.'s and American Legion members.) The same thing happened in the afternoon. The crowd was incensed. It began singing and chanting: "Let us in! Let us in!" The chants could be heard by the television audience. At one point, the excitement reached a fever pitch, but student monitors from the picket line intervened and calmed the crowd. They invited everyone to join the picket line. Some of the students did. Others remained inside, singing and chanting.

On the next day (it is now called "Black Friday" in these parts) the pickets returned in a smaller force. There were more police. Once again, the crowd waiting to get into the sessions was pushed aside to make room for the Committee's supporters, who were allowed to pack the chambers. Once again, the students began to sing and chant. The crowd was more organized than it had been on the previous day. It attempted to negotiate the entry of some of the students to the *public* hearings the Committee was supposed to be holding. In the course of these hectic negotiations the students were double- and triple-crossed. They sat down on the City Hall stairs or stood around singing and chanting.

Suddenly, without warning or advance notice, the San Francisco police, under command of Inspector Maguire, turned high-pressure water hoses on the students, knocking some of them unconscious and injuring others. No public command by a responsible police official was given the students ordering them to quit the building. Maguire lost his head and broke every rule of police procedure. Misjudging the temper of the crowd, he refused to discuss or negotiate. He merely turned on the hoses, thinking that a little wetting would cool off the students' "subversive" spirits.

But this was no panty raid. There was no panic, no hysteria, no violence. As though commanded from on high, the students allowed themselves to be sprayed. They put their hands in their pockets, sat down on the steps and sang: "We Shall Not Be Moved!"

The police lost control. They turned off the hoses and rushed the students, clubbing, kicking and manhandling them. The students continued the passive resistance in the best Gandhian manner. Most of them went limp and allowed themselves to be dragged, hands still in pockets, down the thirty-six sharp marble steps and out into the paddy wagons. Girls of 16 and 17 were dragged down these steps by the feet, their heads and spines bumping

on the way down, their skirts pushed up around their waists. A few offered resistance to the beating and mauling and were knocked unconscious. Several were dragged through some broken glass outside the front doors of the City Hall. About seven students went to the hospital, suffering mostly from head injuries. The police suffered sprained limbs or backs. One—symbolically enough—had a heart attack.



On the next day, the students returned—two thousand strong! Among them were practically all of the more than sixty who had been arrested the day before by the police. One young lady, who had been hit in the mouth by a policeman's billy, walked grimly up and down, sporting her scar. Most of the men were dressed in suits and ties, the women in skirts and heels. (The press had attempted to smear the demonstration as a Commie-beatnik business.) The discipline on the line was remarkable for such a large group of raw youngsters. A small student committee made the decisions on the spot; the sergeant-monitors saw that they were carried out; the students behaved like real troupers. At no time during the three days of picketing, which involved thousands of students and other citizens, did the police touch the picket line.

The crowd of bystanders across the street was another matter. By Saturday afternoon it had swelled to about thirty-five hundred. The quiet remark of one old long-shoreman may indicate the temper: "Well, sonnie, they're not going to hose down any students today," he said. And they didn't. The police were skittish and anxious but they stayed in line. It was a very good thing they did.

The arrested students banded together to present a united front at the legal proceedings. Most of them were charged with such things as disturbing the peace, inciting a riot, and resisting arrest. The American Federation of Teachers, the Young Democrats, the California Democratic Council, eighty-five faculty members at Stanford, a large number at the University of California, and many

civic groups have condemned the police brutality and asked for an investigation of the San Francisco police department.

"We Shall Not Be Moved"

After the public threat of a mass trial, which could have called hundreds of witnesses and lasted for months, the legal committee set up by the students obtained a dismissal of the charges against all of the students except for five juveniles and Robert Meisenbach, aged 22, an undergraduate in English at the University of California, who is charged with a felony. His trial is expected to take place in the near future. In a statement released by the student defendants, Judge Axelrod of the San Francisco Municipal Court was praised for his "courage" in permitting a "triumph of justice." The statement went on to say: "From our efforts to abolish the Committee, we shall not be moved." The students immediately organized a committee to defend Meisenbach.

There are the usual cries that the demonstration "helped" the Committee prolong its life. As the dust settles and the truth about this incident becomes widely known, "Black Friday" will prove to be the worst black eye the Committee has ever suffered. The H. U. A. C. was chased out of San Francisco under the most humiliating circumstances imaginable. Its parting shot was to accuse Republican Mayor George Christopher of "surrender to Communist-directed mob violence" because he declared that if the Committee returns he will refuse to offer it City Hall for its sessions.

Does this incident indicate a change in the political climate? This question is worth exploring.

The students came from many schools throughout the Bay Area, but the basic forces came from the University of California and San Francisco State. The pickets ranged from teenage high school students to thirty-five-year-old graduates. This was a raw political group. Their leaders were also relatively inexperienced. Twenty years of silence has taken its toll.

The students inside City Hall were not vandalistic. They were not even especially rowdy. They felt that they were exercising their God-given American right to demonstrate against the Committee's stacking procedures. They were really flabbergasted when the cops turned the hoses on them. Yet they acted in a totally "un-American" fashion by going limp and permitting themselves to be pushed around. Violence has long been endemic in American politics, and yet these unorganized students acted like disciplined members of a CORE project. That is something to think about.

These students were not "political" in the sectarian sense of the term. For example, in one small junior college, the three students arrested were the editor of the college paper, a member of the staff of the paper, and an eighteen-year-old girl innocent of any politics. In a small art school long notorious for its predominate

antly "beat" tone, a group calling itself "WE, THE COMMITTEE" issued a marvellously naive leaflet to raise money for the legal defense of its two arrested members. These "wronged people" were "unlawfully incarcerated" says "WE, THE COMMITTEE."

The tone of the picket line was friendly and democratic. It was dominated by enthusiasm and good spirits even after Black Friday. For example, the student monitors assigned a young girl to walk along with a counter-picket to assure him safe passage. He got disgusted with the lack of response and went home. A lady of seventy shadowed another Pro-Committee picket with her own handmade sign, which said: "Let's be like Russia; no difference of opinion." Of course, there was a large number of liberal signs of the usual cliché variety: "Abolish the Committee!" "Defend the Bill of Rights!" etc. There was also an endless variety of more imaginative signs, which had been feverishly composed during the night after Black Friday by hundreds of unformed minds. "UN-AMERICANS GO HOME!" was very popular. One sign merely said: "BOOO!" A little fat man proudly displayed his masterpiece: "SHAME! SHAME!" Two beat-looking youngsters carried an enormous American flag. Perhaps the prize sign was the one maintaining that: "THE COMMITTEE IS A THINKING MAN'S FILTER!"

The students clapped enthusiastically for Archie Brown, the local Communist Party stalwart, who was repeatedly thrown out of the Committee sessions for making raucous comments in the "third period" manner. (The local Communists are apparently quite angry with Archie for being so successful a clown.) Archie spoke to some of the student crowds. He maintained hotly that he is a "democratic socialist." Such are the times.

Militant and Nonviolent

It is not news that this is a raw generation. But it is apparently also a militant generation. Not deliberately militant in the sense of the trained political goons of other times and other countries but youthfully militant in the way youngsters can be only if they don't know that cops *do* bash people on the head. These young folks are fed up with the entire Establishment for screwing up the works. Their ideology is a strange hash of *Mad* magazine, civil libertarianism, and anarchistic good spirits. They have absorbed their nonviolent "tactics" from the civil-rights movement, their politics from high-school texts, disgruntled teachers, and anti-McCarthyism. One thing is clear: they are anti-totalitarian to the core. Archie Brown was a "hero" because he was a brave underdog. He was in no sense an intellectual leader. Organizationally speaking, the Communists gained nothing from the entire affair.

The newspapers and the Committee did everything within their power to aid the Communists in recruiting

these students. They smeared the "riot" as Communist-inspired; they failed to point out the incredible discipline of the thousands of pickets and the clearly non-Communist character of their signs; they publicized the Committee's statement that the students were "toying with treason"; they supported the cops and called for blood; they lied in their teeth. All to no avail. The students howled with laughter, tore up the papers, and continued their activity. The Communists were powerless to influence the course of events, although Harry Bridges did his best to get in on the act. The *People's World* supported the students with a throwaway, and that was about all. And the Bay Area has long been one of the traditional strongholds of American Communism.

As mentioned, these students spontaneously accepted the militant but nonviolent measures advocated by CORE and many American pacifists, and publicized by the civil-rights movement and the Southern sit-ins. Among the leaders of this student movement are a variety of political types: liberals, pacifists, unorganized socialists, members of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Young Peoples Socialist League, anarchists, radical democrats, etc. It was highly significant that the nonviolent, direct-action "confrontation" seemed to offer an excellent meeting ground for these diverse groups. It satisfied the socialist-political perspective of a mass movement organized from below in conflict with the powers-that-be; it did not violate the anarchist belief in "direct action"; although insufficiently organized by essentially untrained leadership, it was both militant and nonviolent in the best modern pacifist sense; and, most important, it seemed to express the impatience of the students for a new type of radical democratic action, a kind of collective moral protest against the irresponsible, deadening effect of present-day "grown-up" politics. Hence, it offers an important lesson for all groups interested in a unified radical movement in America.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

The Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund has been set up to meet the expenses for legal defense and for Meisenbach's trial. Chairman of the Fund is Professor Hanan Selvin and the Treasurer is Professor John H. Otwell of the Pacific School of Religion. Among the sponsors of the Committee are: Roger Baldwin, Erich Fromm, Alexander Meiklejohn, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Pickus, and Norman Thomas.

Please make checks out to **John H. Otwell, Treasurer, The Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund**, c/o Pacific School of Religion, 1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

Note: all money not used in the legal defense will be returned.

TWO POEMS

RED ROCKS, DENVER MOUNTAIN PARK*

Into the foothills in their giant unrest
we went a dozen miles among blue spruce
and ponderosa to, in the deep snow,
the amphitheater cut in the Red Rocks
(where first in 1910, I think it was,
one fellow plucked a fiddle and the other
high in the crevice listened, and they marveled.)

"They built it in the Thirties," I explained
to the Australian, "W P A
project to make useful work."

The rocks

were gorgeous brothers and as red as blood
—one is called Creation, one the Ship—
and all around about us
the Rocky Mountains were the Rocky Mountains.

"Since then this country," I said angrily,
is dragging its behind. What *you'll* observe
is lousy television!"

I was furious

because he just came from Los Angeles.
I was ashamed.

So I began to bellow

like a spokesman from the middle of the stage
"Hello! hello! hi! hi! can you hear me?"
A hail of echoes rattled on the floor.

"Certainly we can hear you," they called down
in ordinary conversational
voices like a Stradivarius.

My eyes grew misty—I had been surprised
by my own vehemence. My glorious,
my beautiful country! where I go about
checking up like a proprietor
and write her jealous notes like to my wife.

**The amphitheater was built by the C. C. C. under the
W. P. A. and is a remarkable example of a "public good."*

WELLFLEET, MASS.

Oh for a favorable wind to chase
these biting flies these spiteful Massachusetts
morals, so a man that has worked hard
and merits it can bask on this yellow beach
and soak in the strong sun of pleasure
that proves itself, and is evidence
(though not the only kind.) But God! these flies
annoy and buzz and they are present
even when they are absent. I don't hope
for hot joy or much luck along the shore,
being not young and never was a beauty
though amorous and forward, but to have
my right to animal-idle like a man
without this hullabaloo and hateful laws,
suspicious looks and make me feel a foreigner
on my own golden American sea-coast.
Hate for hate, why don't they drown themselves?
Swatted it!—it's only a horsefly
with twitching legs dying in the sand.
Irritation creates metaphors.
Poor stinging bugs. I understand they must,
naturally they come at us insanely
for we are their life-blood, they live on us.
The prissy acid speech and the scared arts
of Massachusetts can't enjoy them much.
Ours is the future, be compassionate!
(I wish I had been happy in my time.)
Great sun of power, that blind me not, when I
look calmly past you though I reel like drunk!
and let me touch *you*, pine woods of the dune,
for you are fragrant though your bark is rough.

PAUL
GOODMAN

Letter from Havana:

WAR CRIMINALS: CUBAN STYLE

CARLETON BEALS

We print the following article not as an evaluation of the Castro government but as a trenchant description of the policies being pursued by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in support of the American State Department and American business interests.

ONCE MORE the Cuban papers are full of the broken mutilated bodies of persons assassinated by the police and soldiery of Fulgencio Batista. Once again the papers are printing pictures of villages razed by napalm bombs from planes provided the dictatorship by the United States government. These horrors are still fresh in the minds and hearts of all Cubans, and several of those who perpetrated these atrocities against civilization are now honored guests of the Internal Security Committee of the United States Senate, headed by Senators James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, and James Thomas Dodd, of Connecticut. Nothing has stirred the Cuban people more deeply; nothing has made them more doubtful of the good intentions of the United States government; nothing has given more body to rumors that a secret plot is afoot for an instigated invasion from the various neighbor dictatorships to overthrow the Castro régime.

As one Havana daily puts it: "Can a man be an assassin in Cuba and a respectable person in the United States? Can a man be a criminal and thief in Cuba, and a 'witness' and hero of the Senate of the United States? Is the North American Senate the place where traitors, smugglers and assassins converge?"

As Foreign Minister Raul Roa puts it: "To offer the genocides Ugalde and Tabernilla [two of the committee's witnesses] the salons of the Capitol of Washington as a setting for their despicable activities, is not only an unpardonable insult to the Cuban people, but a blood-stained mockery of the thousands of North-Americans who died in two world wars, sent into a struggle proclaimed as the defense of democracy and the self-determination of peoples."

This procedure is equivalent to bringing top Nazis to the Senate to investigate the Adenauer government, or Juan Peron to attack the Frondizi government of Argentina. It would be far more pertinent if the Cuban government set up a body to investigate the rotten-borough system of Connecticut and the frequent police abuse of Puerto Ricans in Senator Dodd's state, or the

terror against Negroes in that pithacoid community known as Mississippi, Senator Eastland's state, where the majority of the citizens do not have the right to vote.

It is incredible that adults, let alone senators, should listen to, pay out money to hear, spend taxpayers' money to spread in public documents such long-since exploded tales about missile platforms in Cuba, about a Russian submarine delivering arms to Castro in the Sierra (a Dominican canard), and have a witness who headed up the most terroristic instrument of the Batista dictatorship, Military Secret Intelligence, inform the committee that he had investigated and found to be Communist the Latin Press International, six months before it was even founded, and years after he had ceased to head up such investigations. Here are all the old McCarthy techniques parading once more, damaging the good name of the United States in Cuba, in all Latin America, and throughout the world.

The Cuban press, with the exception of *Diario de la Marina*, is equally bitter, though less surprised, at the attack made by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive committee on Cuban labor and on Cuba itself, apparently timed to coincide with the vicious Internal Security Committee's amateurish circus. Less surprised, because the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has always been a dutiful echo of State Department policies abroad, and in its Latin American alliances it has always been tied up with police-state unions, the labor stooges of the worst dictators, the most ridiculous official paper unions, as was the case in the days of Luis Morones in Mexico, and with the labor confederations of Batista and Trujillo, the puppet labor groups of the Somozas, of the Venezuelan and Colombian dictatorships. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. has never protested the brutal murders of workers in the Dominican Republic or under Batista's terroristic rule. Where was the A.F.L.-C.I.O. when the head of the Cuban pilot's union was found tortured and murdered? But now in Cuba, where no worker has been assassinated, where every effort has been made to improve working conditions, where for the first time in a generation free elections have been held in the unions, and where not a single Communist was elected to the thirty-man executive committee of the General Confederation, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders mount a white horse of righteousness.

The fact is that their own corrupt and blundering rule is menaced by any real threat of honest unionism

anywhere. But a Eusebio Mujol, Batista's labor czar, who was an ex-Communist, who with the help of the army, purged and jailed and murdered all labor elements who opposed his rule, and who fled with Batista, leaving behind among other wealth, a plantation valued at four million dollars—this was the man the A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders could understand, and with him they still play footsie in Washington; he was one of them, and Batista could torture and murder at pleasure without a single cheep from the great American labor leaders.

Here in Havana, the "July 26th Movement's" publication heads its story: LION'S CAN'T COME OUT OF A YANKEE RATS' NEST. The wealthy, corrupt American leaders, it notes, who turn their backs against social welfare in Cuba, who never did anything to help the Cuban worker during fifty years of misery and persecution, likewise were the last to try to help the American Negro worker; even today, they do nothing effective to stop the iniquitous exploitation of Puerto Rican labor.

They talk of boycotting Cuban shipping, the first Cuban vessels, built and owned by Cubans, that seek to break the long-standing monopoly that has cost Cuban enterprise so many millions of dollars. Why do they not boycott Franco's Spain, why do they take no action against Trujillo or Somoza or Stroessner? These are the real ulcers of America, the real menaces to the peace of America. As for peace, it is not Cuba that is strengthening its bases in Guntánamo and Panama, that is holding repeated military and naval maneuvers in Panama, Florida, the Dominican Republic (nipping a revolution in the bud), that is building up the military dictatorship of Duvalier in Haiti where there are no newspapers and where editors are either in jail or dead.

The A. F. L.-C. I. O. Statement

Certainly the A.F.L.-C.I.O. statement—probably the result of general brainwashing in the American press about Cuba, and certainly based on ignorance, misinformation and outright maliciousness—begins with the pompous statement that *loyalty to democratic principles has been characterized by the Castro government as synonymous with counter-revolutionary activity*. This is utterly false, as any careful reading of the speeches of Castro and other leaders reveals. What they have said is that the bleeding hearts for democracy are often besmirching a beautiful word in order to try to drive the Cuban people back into their old slavery.

Time and again, if the A.F.L.-C.I.O. brethren ever took time out to read about Cuba, they would find that Castro has discussed democracy philosophically and in its practical aspects in the light of Cuba's present dilemma. By and large, his view is a nobler one than that currently mouthed in the United States; it has a reality that does not exist in the American labor movement, in

which the rank and file, often terrorized from above by thugs and gangsters, possesses few if any democratic rights.

Other statements are wholly or nearly false: *The right of collective bargaining has been abolished*. Utterly false.

As behind the Iron Curtain, workers are not free to change their jobs without government approval. Hiring and firing has been converted into a government prerogative. Utterly false.

The courts have been subjected to the arbitrary will of the Executive. Sadly enough largely true, except for the Supreme Court. But less true than under Batista; and, sadly enough, with varying degrees, true in almost every Latin American country.

The right of habeas corpus has been suspended indefinitely. True. This was also true during most of Batista's rule, but the A.F.L.-C.I.O. was then less concerned about human rights. It is also true in several other Latin American countries, and it is one of the first rights to go by the boards in every moment of crisis in the lands south. However, even now, it is possible to secure court action in Cuba requiring the government to justify an arrest. Numbers of revolutionary military and prison officials have been called into court on this count.

The Communist Party is the only political party free to function. False. The Orthodox Party (at the time of Batista's coup the strongest party) still operates. The National Revolutionary Party (Grau, Prio Socarras) still maintains an organization, though it is not active. The "July 26 Movement" for all practical purposes is a political party. Numerous semi-political groups function: student factions; Catholic organizations; the Rotary Club, and numerous business groups.

The Cubans, our traditional friends, have been subjected to a violent campaign of hate and contempt for the United States. On the other hand, the United States has not been bombed and burned by planes flying from Cuban fields. It has not been treated to a diplomatic boycott which makes it almost impossible to buy farm machinery, weapons, airplanes, helicopters, or obtain credits in Europe. If Cuban emissaries have carried the message of their revolution to Latin America, various United States Senators have gone up and down the continent falsely denouncing Castro as a Communist. State Department pressures on Latin American countries against Castro's government have been persistent and far-flung. And against what country—long before Castro became overtly anti-United-States-government—was a greater campaign of defamation waged by press, radio and television and in the Congress of the United States than against Cuba? Is not the statement by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. a violent, scarcely truthful, attack on the Cuban government? The false charges of union Communism, of "pro-Communist totalitarianism"? The Cuban Con-

federation of Labor was headed for twenty years by Communists, and there is no doubt that Communists are striving tooth-and-nail to recover lost ground but thus far they have failed.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. weeps for the "free unionists". It does not weep for the non-free unions of the United States, subject to iron-clad rule by an oligarchy of labor bosses of unparalleled corruption. It merely regrets the good old Mujol days of union terrorism and enrichment in Cuba. The first thing that Mujol did when he won control of the great sugar federation was to cut the miserable wages in half. Now that the corrupt labor leaders put in by Batista's army have fled, no crocodile tears can get them back into power. The Sugar Federation—five hundred thousand strong—is once again in the hands of its long-time leader, Corado Becquer, who fought tirelessly for the rights of the sugar workers, whose integrity was so great that even the great foreign corporations learned to respect him. Anyone who calls Becquer a Communist should be elected to the Senate of the United States or the executive committee of the A. F. L.-C. I. O.

But let Becquer speak for himself:

They announce a boycott against our ships—the first ships truly Cuban—and they attack the Revolu-

tionary Government and the present labor leaders, who have been elected freely in unperced elections in every union in the country. What lesson in honest unionism can the A. F. L. and C. I. O. leaders provide? . . . What have they done for the exploited Puerto Ricans of New York, permitting them to be paid less than "other Americans." Have they any right to speak today about the new Cuba, when those same leaders shared with Mujol and his clique of Batista men the so-called continental leadership, without once protesting against the assassination of hundreds of Cuban workers, without ever denouncing the fabulous enrichment of the false leaders serving Batista, without ever taking any action against Trujillo in thirty long years of terror? These leaders of self-enrichment of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. merely serve, like docile *peons*, the interests of the worst monopolies; they are the enemies of the real liberation of the peoples.

The Cuban leaders have not been idle. The press announces that in case a boycott is attempted against Cuban shipping, the unions of fourteen countries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America have agreed to boycott United States shipping.

Our dollar diplomacy and revived McCarthy policy toward Cuba are not winning us friends anywhere in the world.



A WORD OR TWO BEFORE THEY DO US IN

MARC D. SCHLEIFER

When Marc Schleifer was scheduled to appear recently on the C. B. S.-TV show "Eye on New York", he was asked to prepare an opening statement on the Summit talks. An hour before the show, he learned that his material, printed in full below, had been censored and drastically cut. He finally got most of it back (but not the reference to Eisenhower's I. Q.), only to find out later that while he had been reading, a jazz background had been piped in from the control room and gradually turned up so loud as to make the last two paragraphs virtually inaudible.

WE SHOULD all be numb with fear; for the U-2 flights, the armed alert hours before summit and the phantasy air-raid drills fall into a pattern, a plot, and granting that our President is a good-natured guy and Pentagon brass all as lovable and cleancut as the Ipana-smiles on Army recruiting posters, then we are, at best, caught in a genial conspiracy to do ourselves in.

Or look at it this way. In the last few weeks a slimy undertone has been heard from the Official Propaganda Office (often consisting of just about everybody) that things would have been cool if only Pilot Powers had killed himself. All right; that men can actually believe that murder saves a nation's honor is as old-hat as it is degrading. It has been the official excuse for every Caryl Chessman murdered by the state, and most of us are too callous to blink except at such logical extremes of National Honor Thru Their Death as Hiroshima or Buchenwald. But this isn't what I'm talking about now.

I'm referring to our leadership's projection or character structure—attributing its own motivation to others. Like the F. B. I., chronically looking upon anything they can't understand as sinister, deceitful and dangerous to American freedom. People believe that Pilot Powers should have destroyed himself only because they

believe in a policy that is bent on self-destruction.

I leave to liberals and conservatives that great debate about our President's I. Q. Whatever Eisenhower's intellectual incompetence may be, it makes him more innocent than the rest of us. For we are all rationally, cheerfully contemplating our own destruction and tolerating, if not applauding, the men and forces who push us to it. There is more sweet sanity in all of America's madhouses than in the Pentagon, more sense of human solidarity among the toughest JD gangs than found in any meeting of the Chiefs of Staff, no park molester bares the malice towards little children borne by the Atomic Energy Commission.

If this were another age I would begrudge no man his suicide. I'm no obstacle to any man's desires if they will not harm me. "Make it, baby!" I'd say if Ike or Khrushchev dug diving off the Seagram Building. But this is a complicated age, calling for push-buttons instead of Derringers, sleeping pills or even grotesque gas stoves. Their button is also my button.

I address the worthy leaders of the world as conspirators in murder, and concede immediately to the charge that my language is intemperate. Yes, yes, and so by God, will your forthcoming, unwanted death, and mine, be intemperate.

TONE POEM

Why must the ebony-skin girl
whose charm sets male hearts awhirl
try to unwind the tight curl of her hair
and make her lustrous face fair;
while her caucasian sister works to secure,
at style's command, a curly coiffure
and seeks to darken her complexion
with seas of lotion and sun devotion.

On this enigma I must ponder
I have never ceased to wonder
at the range of color that is the media
by which nature dispels the tedia
and monotony that would be our lot
with dull uniformity's dry rot;
soon enough we wear a common tone
in the denominator of mortal bone.

Art Berger

THE LAST ILLUSION

The bullet that kills me
will be a bullet with a soul.
The soul of this bullet would be like a rose
if flowers could sing
Or the perfume of a topaz
if gems had fragrance
Or the skin of song
if it were possible
For our hands to touch naked music.
If it strikes me in the head
it will say: "I am just trying to find out
How deep your thoughts are."

If it enters my heart
it will say:

"I just want to show you how much I love you."

Salomon de la Selva
Made from the Spanish
by Lillian Lowenfels

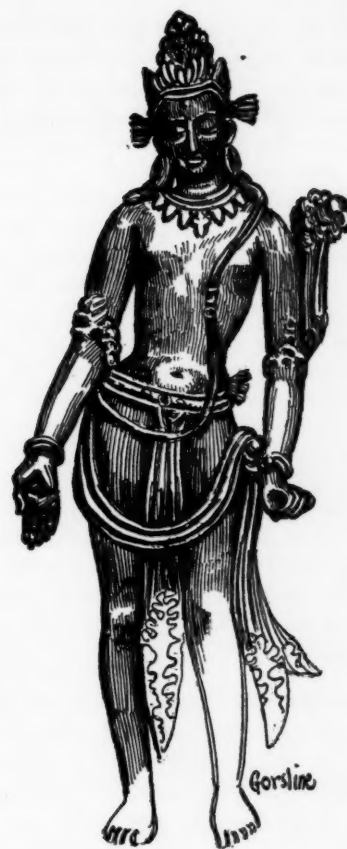
Festivals and Indian Life

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI

The Editors of LIBERATION were saddened to learn of the death of our New Delhi correspondent, Krishnalal Shridharani, on July 23rd of this year, at the age of fifty. His last "Letter from New Delhi," in the May 1959 LIBERATION, was a report of an interview with Vinoba Bhave.

At the age of twenty, Shridharani became associated with Gandhi and was imprisoned for his part in the famous "march to the sea" in protest against the British salt tax. He later spent twelve years in the United States, where he obtained three degrees, including a Ph. D. in sociology and political theory at Columbia. His books and lectures were popular in the United States. He was the author of "War Without Violence" (a study of the applications of Gandhi's technique of satyagraha), "My India, My America," and "The Mahatma and the World."

The article that follows, hitherto unpublished, displays Dr. Shridharani's sociological interest and wider cultural concerns.



FOREIGN SOCIOLOGISTS have often maintained that, since India did not pass through the secular revolution, the emphasis still placed on cults and creeds in India tends to intensify the basic differences between various groups. They felt they had won their point when Hindus and Moslems went through a ghastly carnage on the morrow of independence.

Indian sociologists, on the other hand, have believed differently. Their contention has been that the web of social life in India is more powerful than the various dogmas, and that this tends to bring harmony out of diversity. Social and family relations in a village illustrate the point. When a boy goes back from his school to the village of his maternal uncle, he becomes the nephew of all the people in that village, whether they are Hindus, Moslems or Sikhs. At the marriage ceremony, local friends belonging to different creeds and castes have precedence in the invitation list over relatives. In Indian culture location (village) is more important than belief.

There are other patterns of the Indian social fabric which point to the same conclusion. I remember my childhood in Junagadh, a state then ruled by a Moslem Nawab and dominated by Moslem culture. Whenever

the Moslem *Taziah* festival took place, our family, which was Hindu, participated in it as enthusiastically as our Moslem neighbors, although in some cities of India *Taziahs* were the occasion of communal riots. I remember my grandmother propitiating the tombs of Moslem saints with cocoanuts because her grandson had recovered from a serious illness, just as she would propitiate Hindu gods.

Likewise, an incident in Delhi illustrated the Indian unity in diversity despite the divergence of religions. The *Dussehra* festival brought to Delhi from Bulandshahr scores of Moslem artisans. They came to make the effigies of Ravana and Kumbhakarna (Hindu mythological characters) for a Hindu festival. No Hindu artisans can touch the craftsmanship of the Moslem Ustad Jafar Khan and his men when it comes to twisting the bamboo fibres which make the dry bones of the huge effigies. The Moslem aversion to the representation of human figures did not interfere with this artistic task. The Moslem artisans went back after celebrating a Hindu festival as enthusiastically as anybody else, with a couple of thousand rupees in their pockets.

During the nine nights preceding the *Dussehra* and during the *Dussehra* festival itself, the professional

eunuchs come to the fore. They are traditional actors of folk themes, and their ranks cut across religious boundaries. Even in groups of professional Ramlila actors there are sprinklings of artists who are not Hindus. These artists are always nameless (there are no playbills for their performances and no printed programs), and their identities are seldom revealed. They come with their own tents and their own make-up material. Their repertoire spills beyond *Ramayana*; it embraces *Krishnavarta*, *Bhakta Prehlad*, *Veer Abhimaniyu* and other themes. They do business eight months a year by going from village to village, town to town, and state to state.

Not only do various religions mingle in India's numerous festivals, but various ages do also. The American spirit of having everything bigger and better each successive year has caught on in India. For instance, one year the effigy of Ravana was only fifty feet high; the following year it was seventy-five feet high and filled with fire crackers. The spirit of the Second Five-Year Plan has captured even the organizers of religious festivals. Shurpankha, for instance, looks more and more like a modern society lady with a snub nose and plenty of lipstick.

Sita and the Singer Sewing Machine

The dowry for pre-historic Lord Rama on the occasion of Sita's marriage to him, now includes stainless-steel kitchen utensils, radios, and sewing machines. We remember that Sita wore *valkal* which needed no stitching, and we know that Sita would not know how to handle a Singer machine. Yet such is the spirit of the times. In the Crown of Rama there are now blinking electric bulbs run by a battery, thus proving the thesis of the Hindu enthusiasts that there was electricity even during the Vedic period. The cheeks of Narad Muni now shine

with rouge. False hairs for saints are made of plastic materials. Chariots are driven by motors instead of horses. And even a modern President of India performs the *Tilak* Ceremony, while hundreds of foreign diplomats find hidden beauties in India's ancient beliefs. (Half of these foreign diplomats, incidentally, now take lessons in Yoga.)

The rich variety of religions and beliefs, castes and creeds, provides the Indian novelist with hundreds of themes. And yet this variety can be at times disconcerting, especially to the movie producer. He has to be careful that the sentiments of the Hindus, the Moslems, the Parsis, the Christians, the Sikhs, and the animists are not outraged anywhere in his production. By the time he is through propitiating all the gods of all the religions, he sometimes has nothing left.

There is no country in the world which has as many holidays as India. Besides the basic Western holidays and vacations that we have adopted, we also celebrate the great days of all our religions, which means all the religions of the world. Added to these are the birthdays and death anniversaries of the great men of freedom struggles.

By the time we are through celebrating all these holidays and festivals, we have very few days left to do the hard work. But perhaps that is the beauty of Indian life. Why must people work hard if they are happy without working? India believes in having her holidays in stages, so that the whole year is full of intermittent cheers, while the Western world wants to consolidate its pleasure and relaxation into a packed continuous vacation lasting a month or longer. Because the basic color of Indian life is drab and dull, this unending cycle of festivals is needed to provide the bright patches.

A KIND OF FOLK SONG TO MARTIN LUTHER KING

There once was a blackman who asked me how'd I know
he was black.
I said it ain't that all that color show,
but the scars they keep puttin' on ya
for reasons they don't know.
Then I knew that we're all black,
even if not outside:
Them that wield the whip
will know one day
our skins have always lied.

Jeffrey Allen Berner

*Isolated from real events,
the libertarian radicals have retreated behind*

A SMOKESCREEN OF MORALITY

DAVID McREYNOLDS

AMONG THE GIFTS I received for Christmas was a slim volume by C. P. Snow*—just fifty-four small pages of large type. The book was a gift from my father, with whom I have long had certain disagreements, stemming perhaps from the fact that he is an ardent Republican and a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Air Force Reserve, while I am a pacifist and a member of the Socialist Party. I confess to a certain resistance to reading books which my father gives me and assumed that Snow's little volume would end on the shelf of unread books bestowed with parental affection upon a rebellious son. (My negative feeling toward the book was strengthened when I discovered from the fly-leaf that Snow was Sir C. P. Snow, and that his photograph on the cover came from the archives of the *Saturday Evening Post*.)

It was only after reading a review in the New York Times book section, which suggested the book was creating something of a storm, that, with proper skepticism, I ventured to open it. The book read so easily that by the fourth page I was quite charmed and had one of those "how sharper than a serpent's tooth" moments of guilt. (Someday I must go back to that shelf of unread gifts and see what other treasures I have scorned.) In any event the book is one of those rare gems in which fundamental questions are posed with extreme brevity, without ever seeming hurried or condensed.

Snow's basic thesis is that with the rise of the physical sciences a break appears in Western culture between the "intellectuals" (those trained in the humanities) and the scientists. On one side is a culture whose history goes back beyond Rome to Greece and, even farther, to the first recorded traces of man. On the other side is a culture which is largely alien to the past, committed to the future, and deeply convinced that the twentieth century is not merely another chapter in a long history, but in a certain sense the beginning of a new book altogether.

Snow accuses the "intellectuals" of being natural Luddites who resisted the industrial revolution every step of the way, as something which threatened the culture they knew and loved, never sensing the enormous promise which that revolution held out for the great bulk of mankind. He comments that:

... intellectual persons didn't comprehend what was happening. Certainly the writers didn't. Plenty of them shuddered away, as though the right course for a man of feeling was to contract out; some, like Ruskin and William Morris and Thoreau and Emerson and Lawrence, tried various kinds of fancies which were not in effect more than screams of horror.

Snow indicates the difference between the industrial revolution, which "crept on us unawares," and the present scientific revolution which he feels will transform our society and our lives far more swiftly. He is disturbed and frightened at the prospect of a society overwhelmed by this new revolution, because the intellectuals are unable to accept it, to understand it, and to bring to bear upon it the enormously valuable insights of the non-scientific culture.

He also has some pointed words on the problems of "rich and poor" nations in a world where poverty is no longer necessary, and the poor know it—with all the implications for revolution which that knowledge implies:

Once the trick of getting rich is known, as it is now, the world can't survive half rich and half poor. It's just not on.

And the trick, of course, is the scientific revolution.

Snow reminds us that no power on earth is going to persuade the starving peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to accept their present condition. He suggests the massive investment of technicians, linguists, and industrial capital, warning us that if the West does not undertake such a program, the Communist countries will.

They will do it, at great cost to themselves and others, but they will do it. If that is how it turns out, we shall have failed, both practically and morally. At best the West will have become an *enclave* in a different world. . . . Are we resigning ourselves to that? History is merciless to failure. In any case, if that happens, we shall not be writing the history.

One might wish Snow were more aware—or gave more evidence of awareness—of the crucial problem of how the capital and the technicians are to be given. There is real question whether meaningful economic aid can be given without basic shifts in the West away from capitalism and toward socialism.

In any event, what Snow has to say about the need to assist the underdeveloped areas is by now old hat. (Unfortunately the West has done virtually nothing about the situation, so that Snow's critique on this count while not original, remains valid. We have only to look

**The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, C. P. Snow; Cambridge University Press, \$1.75.

at Cuba, where a profound social revolution is taking place, to realize how little our political leaders have learned. Rather than moving at once to Castro's support, with industrial capital and technicians, we have insisted on fretting over some confiscated American property, and we have suddenly demanded of the Castro government standards of democracy and political morality which we never asked of Batista.)

The basic point of Snow's book is much deeper than an appeal for more Point Four. It is an appeal to the intellectual community to wake up to the realities of contemporary society and to join in shaping that society. The book deserves a wide audience in this country—particularly among radicals.

And it is here that I should like to add some comments of my own, based on feelings I have had for some time which were crystallized by reading *Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*.

It has been said that, after the question of peace, the basic problem of man in contemporary society is the problem of freedom. I agree. How, in the midst of a technological society, does the culture make room for human freedom and for that sense of community which is necessary for the creative exercise of freedom? In my own thinking such "freedom within community" is not possible for the great mass of people until after they are free to determine their own form of government, and until after they have solved the problems of hunger, disease, and illiteracy. At that point I see the real struggle for an authentic "human culture" beginning. The disturbing thing is that those very developments in technology which make it possible to eliminate the material limits to the exercise of real freedom also make possible the creation of an "inhuman culture." A non-technological society usually has meant a degree of personal freedom and of vital cultural life simply because society was never well enough organized to forestall them.

Now, however, vast numbers of our citizens feel themselves little more than anonymous units, driven remorselessly by forces beyond their control, forces that are rapidly atomizing cultures and communities, isolating man from man, leaving each of us caged in gleaming and antiseptic prisons of glass and steel. It is clear that technology, if undirected by man, becomes a kind of natural force shaping man in its own image.

Radicals, with their historic passion for human freedom and lack of training in the sciences, have tended to see the worst aspects of technology. Nor can we be completely blamed for our error. Both the Soviet and the American blocs, committed to the scientific revolution, allow less and less freedom. In our rejection of these two massive power blocs we have tended also to reject technology. As a result, we have not been dealing realistically with the issues. For while the present power blocs may not endure, technology is now a permanent part of human civilization.

Particularly does the libertarian wing of the radical movement tend toward an emotional rejection of technology. We argue, for example, that bureaucracy should be eliminated. But that is not a real issue. For quite some time to come we are going to have more bureaucracy and not less. The real problem is how, within such a system, we can preserve a measure of freedom. (Of course, as one TV comic put it, he preferred to talk about moral issues because they were so much more interesting than real issues.)

We see this retreat from the twentieth century in other areas. When television came in, it was positively high fashion for intellectuals to announce they did not own a set and had no intention of buying one. And I sense a certain smug satisfaction among the intellectuals over the TV scandals because they proved that they had been right all along. Instead of considering how TV might be used, we rejoice that it has been abused.

Or again, in the field of education, the Russian triumph in rocketry started a great debate over whether students should be taught more science. The fact, of course, is that they should. It is a disgrace that any of us, including the present writer, were able to get out of a major university without a background in physics, chemistry, mathematics, electronics, etc. However, the intellectuals and many of the radicals assumed that there were only two solutions to the problem: either more science and less humanities, or more humanities and less science. But as Snow indicates in his book, the real problem is to find ways of sharpening our educational process so that we teach *both* and integrate their teaching. Those intellectuals who are not ashamed to be caught reading science fiction may want to refer to the July 1959 issue of *Fantasy and Science Fiction* for a somewhat bitter but perceptive essay by Dr. Isaac Asimov, on the "Battle of the Eggheads," in which he says:

Any scientist would be ashamed to look up from his instruments and say, "I don't dig this fancy literature jazz. I just read comic books." It might be true, mind you, but he would be ashamed to say so. He would feel disgraced. However, I can easily imagine a humanist stating quite calmly that he knew nothing about mathematics and that he couldn't add a column of figures to save his life. There's no disgrace in *that*. In fact, I have a suspicion that a thorough-going humanist would feel just a little proud of not understanding mathematics or science. It would be a sign of true intellectual aristocracy. It would show how *completely* cultured he was.

There are elements within the radical movement that, disheartened by the failure of traditional politics and seeing only the dangers of a technological society, have adopted a kind of neo-anarchism embracing everything from direct-action projects to intentional communities. I respect the values of such radicals but feel that they have retreated from the real problems under a smoke-screen of morality. The anarchists have some very effective

tive and necessary comments to make on the dangers and corruptions of our present society. But I have yet to see a reasoned approach by this group to such problems as how to clear slums, or industrialize Asia, or build the Aswan Dam, etc.

I see this failure even in *LIBERATION* (and here I bite the hand that feeds me), which has not adequately probed the nature of the technological society. In its first issue, the editors pledged to search for—among other things—“the politics of the future.” Thus far, I do not believe the search has borne fruit, unless the editors believe that a series of direct-action projects in itself constitutes “the politics of the future,” in which case they are very much mistaken. Direct-action projects undertaken as a part of a general social and political program, have one kind of meaning. But direct-action projects, divorced from such a program, are a substitute for political responsibility.

My point here is that while *LIBERATION* has grasped the central issue—freedom—perhaps more accurately than any other publication on the Left, it has largely failed to present solutions which fit the context of our present society. It seems a habit of the Left, even of such outstanding thinkers as Marx, to envision future utopias as a kind of reflection of some utopia lost in the distant past. The result is that radicals not infrequently have an almost reactionary hostility to the continued dialectic of human events, because such development creates new problems when we “the vanguard,” are just putting the finishing touches on our proposed solutions to the old problems. (This resistance to change is certainly not exclusive with us—scientists themselves often show the same general hostility to new theories).

I do not want to be misunderstood—the *values* with which the libertarian Left concerns itself are exceptionally important. What leaves me discouraged and angry is seeing these values caged within dogmas that are no longer relevant.

I know I cannot expect the Chinese—or the Africans, or the Indians, or the Cubans—to listen to general appeals to morality. They must industrialize to feed, clothe and house their people. What is our answer to their problem? It is not enough to condemn the executions under Castro, or the loss of freedom under the Chinese Communists. In fact, I feel it is immoral to limit ourselves to such morality. How do we propose the industrialization of these areas? And—tied to this—what is our practical political program for achieving our libertarian alternatives to Communism and capitalism? A few years ago, we at least had a slogan—“The Third Camp”—but it remained largely a slogan and now we don’t even seem to have that.

Finally, I believe that the radical Left has not only failed to deal with the real issues, but has also missed the real challenge of our century—the need for Man to develop a new conception of himself. The average radi-

cal reacted to the first Sputnik by lamenting the waste of money, the military implications, the “foolish attempt to get to the moon when we haven’t even solved our problems on earth,” etc. One of the very few intellectuals with a libertarian orientation who really understood what happened on October 4, 1957, was Paul Goodman, whose poem on Sputnik I appeared in *LIBERATION* in November of that year and which I quote in full here for those who missed it (and without meaning to implicate Paul Goodman in any of the remarks I have made in this article!):

A new thing with heavenly motion made by us
flies in the sky, it is passing every hour
signaling in our language. What a power
of thought and skill has launched this marvellous
man-made moon! And suddenly the gorgeous
abyss lies open, as you spring a door,
to enter and visit where no man before
ever came.

It is a mysterious
moment when one crosses a threshold
and “Have I been invited?” is my doubt.
Yes, for our wish and wonder from of old
and how we patiently have figured out
the laws of entry, warrant we have come
into the great hall as a man comes home.

Our problem is that we do not realize that *we* (the radicals) have a problem. We seem to feel that we are competent to shape the future of our society when, in fact, we do not even understand the forces at work. A liberal education is no longer enough. A radical set of values is not sufficient. What is needed is an integration in our thinking of our historic values with the contemporary developments of science. Unless our solutions flow from such an integration we will remain isolated from the drift of real events, while technology remains the master instead of the tool.

At the present time our “solutions” reflect our fear of technology more than our knowledge of it. My point is that technology does not have to be our enemy, if we can understand it and thus bring our values to bear upon it. It is in this sense that I want to accept the technological society, with all the dangers inherent in it, because I believe that Man, standing now on the shore of space itself, by the very act of standing there and being aware that some day he shall indeed touch the stars, must conceive of himself in a new way. Technology is inexorably destroying the old ways and scrapping our old solutions. Let it. Our problem is how to shape new vessels to carry those terribly precious values which give meaning to the race.

The tragedy which Snow has pointed up in his book is that the intellectuals, so necessary to the birth of a free culture within a technological civilization, are alien to that civilization as it appears around us. And nowhere do I sense that alienation more than in the libertarian wing of the radical movement.

"INTERNATIONAL GOOD WILL THROUGH SPORTS"

I. Mixing Politics With Athletics

I READ the April editorial regarding my recent imprisonment, in essence for refusing to pay federal income tax for support of militarization. You said, in part, that I declined to make the trip to Russia to compete in the United States-Soviet Union track meet because "this would give a false impression that Negroes have achieved equality in this country." No doubt, the State Department believes that the presence of darker people of part-African identity on such tours can add weight to the misconception, but my reasons were broader than that. I took exception to the U. S.'s mixing politics with sports—transferring the power struggle to another field. I shall never condone the name calling, the misrepresentation, the hostilities hidden behind the smiles and handshakes of pretended goodwill.

Through the newspapers mainly, the U. S. officials had spread it around that Russian athletes were "paid professional slaves" forced to compete by the State, while the "free amateur" athletes of the U. S. competed for sheer love of sport. As a leading Cleveland sports-writer put it, the U. S. invented the paid-amateur athletic system. I do know that among the men this system has for a long time been widespread. Several top athletes still receive generous expenses from major meet officials as inducements to compete. Then it's publicized that the stars will be present and this attracts the big, well-paying crowds. Some athletes complete the track circuit (from January to August) in this manner. Also, colleges give heavy financial support (through athletic scholarships), as do some clubs and the armed services. I knew one athlete who was supposedly doing active duty by recruiting for the Navy. His recruiting happened to be done in whatever city a major track meet was being held. That year, the season lasted from January to December, and throughout, he competed and then left whatever area as soon as the competition was ended. In Russia, they don't receive pay for competing, but they get full maintenance if they are of star quality. And they value athletics for the same reasons as most athletes do the world over.

Another untruth was that Russian female athletes, allegedly burly and manlike, would best their daintier U. S. counterparts. U. S. ladies could hardly be called daintier. Many Russian ladies were beautiful and graceful. Several were wives and mothers. The difference was that they enjoyed the same opportunities for training as the men (as is true of several other European countries and Australia). Their skilled technique, meticulous

coaching, high quality facilities, ample competition represent overwhelming contrast to the mediocre circumstances of most U. S. ladies. As an illustration, many of us had as few as two to four meets a year while, in the same span, Russian ladies were competing anywhere from twenty-five to one hundred times.

Russia's composite team, therefore, was superb. The U. S. could only be generally hopeful about its men. In advance, the U. S. insisted upon separate totalling of men's and women's points—an unprecedented thing in international competition. Wanting further to allow for the variables, it was propagandized that if the Russians were to win, their professionalism would have given them the advantage. If the U. S., then freedom would have triumphed over slavery.

In such delusional light, I became more convinced that athletes ought to participate in sports for sports' sake only, and in friendly attitude. In that particular competition, I knew in advance that it was not going to be. I thought about all the men and women of the United States lifting their hands and pledging blind allegiance to the militarization and police authoritarianism and such aforementioned propaganda, symbolized in the cloth of the country. I was relieved to stay home.

EROSEANNA ROBINSON

2. South Africa and the Olympics

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL principles of the International Olympic Committee is that "no discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of race, religion, or politics." How is it then that only whites represent South Africa in the 1960 Olympics, when eighty per cent of the population is non-white? Avery Brundage, president of the International Olympic Committee, states, "We have complete confidence in the South African Olympic Committee, which is responsible for Olympic affairs in South Africa and which is well aware of our rules and regulations. . . . We are in possession of copies of native newspapers admitting that there are presently no negroes (*sic*) of Olympic calibre in South Africa."

Let us examine the facts. What is the South African Olympic Committee in which Mr. Brundage has such complete confidence? First, it is an all-white committee. Since non-whites do not have access to the facilities and opportunities of experienced associations, they must form their own. Yet non-white sports teams, under South Africa's system of *apartheid*, are not permitted to com-

pete against white teams. In team sports, therefore, non-whites are in a sealed box, forbidden to demonstrate group calibre against a white team, forbidden to enter the recognized associations as individuals where they might demonstrate calibre in mixed teams.

In an individualized sport such as weight-lifting, the non-white theoretically can compete with the white because he can be kept physically separate and still be measured. He must be nominated, however, by the Olympic Committee for Olympic participation. In 1956 the non-racial South African Weightlifting Federation raised the question of participation in the Melbourne Olympics with the International Olympic Committee. The International Olympic Committee referred the group back to the white South African Olympic Committee, which failed to give a direct reply. However, its president stated, one year later: "Non-Europeans cannot compete against Europeans in South Africa and cannot be considered for international teams." Is this the committee in which you have "complete confidence," Mr. Brundage?

An anonymous article in *Drum* magazine (the "native newspapers" to which Mr. Brundage refers, owned by a white South African) stated in June of this year that non-whites who have been tested have not measured up to the top white athletes. This article has been reprinted in part by the International Olympic Committee and circulated as "proof" that the South African Olympic Committee is non-discriminatory.

But the article goes on to say (and this the I. C. C. did not reprint), "If you plan to run in the Olympics . . . you must train all year round. . . . But here we must bring up the hell of our economics. If, for example, all our kids could be better-fed, better-housed, from birth, there would be far more potentially great athletes among us. Also, athletes in training should be given the very best food available and be able to get adequate rest. But how many of our boys can afford to take time off from their jobs to train properly for a big meeting? Very, very few. So the whites, with their higher standard of living, and better jobs, have a few seconds' lead in the race, even before the starting gun goes off."

Of course the problem of fair Olympic participation from South Africa is tied up with the whole problem of *apartheid* in South Africa, and cannot be totally isolated from it. *Drum* states: "White sports writers, white athletic experts, top administrators, and our own officials are quite certain this is the last all-white athletic team that South Africa will send overseas." If this is to be true, it will be partly due to the encouragement and indignation of the outside world.

(Further information may be obtained from the American Committee on Africa, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.)

ANN MORRISSETT

REVIEWS . . .

ANGRY LIBERAL

With considerable wit and incisiveness, James Wechsler sets forth the position of decent, enlightened liberalism on the issues of our day. In these 14 essays* the editor of the New York *Post* discusses such topics as "The Age of Unthink," "The Liberal Retreat," "The Time of the Bomb: Notes on Adult Delinquency," "With all Deliberate Lack of Speed," "McCarthy and the Aftermath," and "Challenge to the Beat."

He opposes Henry Luce, William Buckley, Jr., McCarthy, Nixon, Truman, Lyndon Johnson, James Hagerty, Eisenhower, J. Edgar Hoover, and the Dixiecrats. He applauds Stevenson and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and, critically, Humphrey. He asserts that liberalism still has a mission and gives top priority to these issues: "the quest for survival (without surrender), the assurance of equal rights for all Americans, the reaffirmation of the freedoms so battered during the dark age of McCarthy, the assertion of a genuine American image that will give hope to the hungry and hounded of the world."

For all Wechsler's amiable arguments, this is a depressing book. He says so many of the right things, more or less as they have been said for so many years, and it is not enough. In his way he is as devoted to *realpolitik* as are Nixon and Johnson. Of course he would like to see the Northern Democrats break from the Southern Democrats. But those who have been urging this development do not seem to have moved an inch toward their goal.

Our domestic politics continues to be arid, unenlightened, and stodgy. The significant battles continue to be fought, and sometimes the gains made, outside the arena of party politics. The Montgomery bus strike, the sit-downs in the South, the small advances of the unions, the demonstrations of the pacifists against atomic installations and bomb testing, are cases in point. If this trend to work for progress outside the framework of party politics continues and grows, perhaps it will be a more potent force for political realignment in the United States than the well-reasoned arguments of Wechsler and the Americans for Democratic Action.

CHARLES CHADWICK

**Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor*, by James A. Wechsler. New York, Random House, 1960, 246 pp., \$3.95.

PATCHEN AND JAZZ

Kenneth Patchen and the Alan Neil Quartet are as different, in their way, from the beat poets reading to jazz as Gandhi was from the Carnegie Peace Foundation—or the crown of thorns from the Nobel Peace Prize. The late great Charlie Parker knew most of Patchen's poems by heart, and it was inevitable that sooner or later Patchen would begin moving into a medium where he and the jazzmen could make the scene together. Eight years ago was when it first began to happen. Since then others have taken it over and mostly flawed it up, just as the beat poets tried to draw on his poetry but lacked the fierce integrity which makes the difference between creativity and packaging. Four Blues Poems, Four Song Poems, a Patchen Grotesque, and "Glory, Glory," in which Patchen lays it on the line in his most unpatriotic, upacifistic, and un"poetic" selfness. *Folkways Records*, 117 W. 46th St., New York City; 33 1/3 RPM.

D. D.

LETTERS . . .

Dear Editors:

New York

Several of your readers have requested me to answer Kenneth Boulding's remarks in your April issue that, "If Cuba goes Communist, it will either be occupied or quarantined by the United States. The United States can even less afford to have a Communist Cuba than Russia can afford to have a capitalist Hungary. Of the two alternatives, occupation would be a minor disaster for Cuba; quarantine would be a major disaster. If Cuba were to become an *estado libre asociado* of the United States like Puerto Rico, its economic future would be indeed bright. Puerto Rico has scored a substantial success with very limited natural resources. . . . If Puerto Rico becomes the fifty-first state, and the United States Congress, like the legislature of New Mexico, becomes bi-lingual so that membership in the United States does not require subservience to English-speaking culture, Cuba could have a very decent future indeed as the fifty-second state. This might be the long-run effect of occupation."

Limitations of space persuade me to say nothing about the morality of military conquest, occupation, and absorption that Mr. Boulding suggests as remedy for Cuba; my views are known to the extent that I am known. I shall limit myself to some comments on Puerto Rico's economic prospects as an Associated Free State, and on what some other natives of the Caribbean think about that status.

It is now twenty years since Luis Munoz Marin and the Popular Democratic Party came to power on a program of "Bread, Land, and Liberty." It is fifteen years since they renounced the last two items in the trilogy to labor only for bread for their people. Their efforts can no longer be considered experimental; they must be assessed by their fruits, through analysis of their most high-sounding boasts of attainment, and through reading the small print in their more serious declarations.

For example:

1) We are told by the propagandists that in 1940 the per capita income in Puerto Rico was \$121; in 1957, \$443. This statement leads the ingenious to suppose that Puerto Rico's buying power increased by more than three hundred per cent during that period. However, in 1957 one needed \$333 to buy in Puerto Rico what he could buy in 1940 for \$121. Thus the increased per capita income represents an increase in buying power of about thirty-three per cent, not three hundred per cent. We who remember the late thirties and early forties (when I taught high school for \$810 per year) cannot consider this thirty-three per cent phenomenal in relation to the rest of the world, nor attribute it to the genius of the *Estado Libre Asociado* formula.

2) We are told that Puerto Rico's income is now increasing at the rate of six per cent per annum, that of the United States at only three per cent per annum. This suggests that the Puerto Rican's gain each year is twice as much as that of the North American. But for every \$100 possessed by the average North American, the average Puerto Rican has only \$25. If his \$25 increases six per cent, he has \$1.50 more, whereas if the North American's \$100 increases by three per cent, he has \$3 more. So the North American is actually gaining twice as much as the Puerto Rican, while the propaganda makes it appear that the opposite is true.

Let us now turn to the *Estado Libre Asociado's* record of achievement in the areas for which it is given greatest credit:

1) *Housing*. Cesar Cordero Davila, Administrator of the Urban Renewal and Housing Administration, told a United States Congressional committee in December, 1959, that his Administration is clearing urban slums at the rate of two thousand dwellings per year, but that, if two thousand new slum dwellings grow up every year to take their place, no real progress is actually being made in eliminating the slums.

2) *Industrialization*. The present government's industrialization program is based on a practise of subsidizing North American businessmen through twelve year tax exemption and provision of buildings and other facilities, and of keeping wages sufficiently low to guarantee permanently higher profits than they can make in the United States proper. Thus in 1955 the ratio of profits to equity was thirty-five per cent for U. S. firms in Puerto Rico, after taxes; for all United States corporations that same year the ratio was twenty-two per cent before taxes and twelve per cent after taxes. The *average wage* (not minimum wage) in industry in Puerto Rico hovers around \$30 per week; in Michigan it is \$102; in California \$97; in Mississippi and South Carolina \$61. Puerto Rico's government and business personnel acknowledge that some such differential in wages must be maintained if profits are to remain above thirty per cent and the industrialization program succeed. Still, 30,000 Puerto Ricans come to the United States every year to wash dishes and scrub floors, and 80,000 (eleven per cent) of Puerto Rico's working force remains chronically unemployed.

This is the kind of economic future Cuba could look forward to as an associated free state of the United States. But the economic considerations are of least importance to men and women determined not to live by bread alone.

A few days ago a Dominican and a Cuban were conversing in my presence. The Dominican is thirty years in exile, having been sentenced *in absentia* for a speech made shortly after Trujillo seized power. The Cuban is semi-Fidelista, having understandably serious reservations about the new government's domestic policies, which have deprived him of his livelihood. He said to the Dominican: "Thirty years struggling against Trujillo! Don't you ever give up?" Replied the Dominican: "I plan to live until I am two hundred and fifty years old, and then to will all I possess to the continuing struggle against Trujillo. Seriously, though, only one circumstance would make me give up this fight. If I were convinced that the only alternative were to exchange the dictatorship of Trujillo for the dictatorship of the United States Congress and become an associated free state, then I would support Trujillo because I prefer a domestic dictator to a foreign one." Said the Cuban: "And under those circumstances I would support even Batista."

Mr. Boulding can offer the associated free state to whom he chooses. He can secure it for them, however, only in the same manner that it has been secured for Puerto Rico: by the military conquest and occupation that he has suggested, and suppression by force and violence of all effective contrary activity.

Ruth M. Reynolds

Dear Editors:

Springfield, Illinois

Please send me "Alternative Rides Again." I'll circulate it freely and try selling more of them if it's what you say it is.

The April issue of *LIBERATION* was a masterpiece. The editing on Cuba alone was worth the enclosed dollar. I'm a Cuban as far as my devotion to Fidel. As an outsider, I see no paranoid, only a humble person with rare courage. I suppose religions other than Christian must have at times felt the paranoid personality of Jesus. The "Delusions of Grandeur"

movement the entire record of the Bible reveals, must surely have had its impact on our psychologists. Why this silence on their part?

If you will listen closely you'll hear the quiet *rumble* from the long-silenced atheistic left. I hope the *rumble* becomes an earthquake of protest on election day—not by voting for an inspected, passed, and approved party but by staying away from the poles in one mass silent strike.

I plan to celebrate election day by burning one of the many Bibles religious bigots have forced on me as gifts!

(Mrs.) Mary Kolp

Dear Editors:

New York

I thought that Richard DeHaan's piece on Germany in your June issue was most interesting, but I cannot for the life of me fathom his crack that "the S. P. D. probably stands to the right of every other party of the Second International, not excluding the American Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation." Clearly Mr. DeHaan knows very little about the S. P.-S. D. F.

Space won't permit me to spell out our program, but those of your readers who are interested are invited to send for a free copy of our 1960 Socialist platform to S. P.-S. D. F., 303 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Irwin Suall
National Secretary

Dear Editors:

Philadelphia

I've resisted long enough. Enclosed is a check for four dollars. Please begin my year's subscription with the June issue. And please send me a copy of "Alternative Rides Again."

The quality of the material regularly appearing in *LIBERATION* has improved so dramatically that I can no longer rely on occasionally picking the magazine off the reading tables of my friends. I rejoice that *LIBERATION* seems to have successfully weathered its "Beatnik" phase (a la Mailer) and has gone on to publish more and more articles of penetration, wit, and insight, presenting viewpoints which can't be found in other publications.

I have one small request. I feel it should be more frequently possible to shake loose a few prints from that amazing photographer, Harold Feinstein. The extension of *LIBERATION*'s message to those areas of intuition and emotion that respond only to non-verbal communication, would be well worth the sacrifice of space necessary to reproduce an occasional picture essay intelligently and honestly.

Matt Herron

Dear Editors:

New Orleans

I like *LIBERATION*'s poetry and commend you on your daring in the excellent poem *Lament* by Richard Mayes in the December, 1959, issue.

Jon Edgar Webb

Dear Editors:

432 S. Johnson
Iowa City, Iowa

On June 7th I announced the inauguration of the Frontier News Service. I intend to provide to newspapers much of the same type of material you run in *LIBERATION*. An announcement in *LIBERATION* might put me into touch with persons willing to correspond for Frontier News Service.

More specifically, I am interested in running editorials of national scope, columns and comments on world affairs, articles on religion, pacifism, social action, segregation, civil

defense, unusual people with unusual ideas, short fiction, cartoons, satire, humor, etc.

I feel there is, by default of both the public and the publishers, a Paper Curtain which boxes us into a subtle ignorance. If we are to outgrow the threat of both Communism and anti-Communism, then we must be aware of as many new ways of thinking and action as we can.

Darold Powers

3983 - 17th St.

San Francisco 14, Calif.

Dear Editors:

I am gathering material relative to the position of Catholic conscientious objectors, and I would very much appreciate if you could find space in *LIBERATION* to ask any Catholic who has served time in prison, Civilian Public Service Camp or at alternative service to please contact me, if willing to add to material for publication relating to the Catholic C. O. position.

Carol Gorgen

LIFE'S NATIONAL PURPOSE

continued from page 14

a city. Communities may federate themselves for limited and convenient purposes of trade and culture, but their citizens must learn to practice justice at home and to remain at peace with one another by moral self-restraint. In the beginning the "United States" were planned to consist of moral communities with such a federative policy. With the rise of the "indissoluble nation," at the end of the civil war, all that disappeared.

Originally, the deepest consensus of our people was centered in biblical religion; it was a unity that could neither be enacted by legislation nor administered by officials nor "promoted". The laws of God and the promise of eternal life provided purpose for early Americans. Recently and gradually, we have come to believe that the "nation" can establish its own mundane purposes, and that politicians, businessmen, and journalists can provide the vision that Isaiah believed essential for the survival of any people.

Let us stop inventing organizations with fictitious "characters" and "personal rights," such as our modern corporations and nation-states are supposed to have. We are seeing things that aren't there. These organizations are merely the idols of our modern polytheism, the beasts in a jungle of unbalanceable power which destroys the world-wide brotherhood of individual men. Having put our credulous faith in engineers and generals, even in the entertainers, we are now a lonely, threatened crowd. And perhaps, above all, we have chosen to believe in death—in our power to inflict death on those we momentarily disapprove of, and the necessity of our having to suffer its final victory over us.

No people so fundamentally mistaken in their apprehension of reality, so ignorant of their potential individual worth can have genuine purpose. For—alas for us—God is not mocked, and we have forgotten how to repent.

TRAINING

The Peacemaker Training Program provides a sixteen day intensive study of the nonviolent method, with the help of resource persons who have been active in actual conflict situations. There will be exploratory discussions mornings and evenings, and afternoon workshops in direct action, in the creative process, and in constructive work. There will be ample free time for getting to know other participants and for recreation.

IN NONVIOLENCE

An Introduction to Nonviolence (August 20-21).

A Consideration of Violence (August 22-25)—its nature and forms and the basis of our opposition to it.

Resistance to the Old Society (August 26-27)—lunch counter sit-ins, resistance to "racial" discrimination, anti-war activity, anti-colonialism.

The Development of Free, Nonviolent Relationships (August 28-September 4)—work, new economic relationships, crime and punishment, food, the creative process, sex, children, education, the Catholic Worker and Peacemaker movements.

This year's program has been moved to Waterford, Connecticut, on the outskirts of New London, to assist and take advantage of Polaris Action. If you wish to participate, write Gladney Oakley, Gen. Delivery, Waterford, or call Gibson 3-8214 (New London exchange). Headquarters is on Oil Mill Road on the Niantic River.

faculty

E. W. ARYANAKAM
JULIAN BECK
ANNE BRADEN
CARL BRADEN
HOLLEY CANTINE
DAVID DELLINGER
HAROLD FEINSTEIN
ROY FINCH
PAUL GOODMAN
RICHARD GREGG
ARTHUR HARVEY
NAT HENTOFF
BRAD LYTTLE
JUDITH MALINA
KAY MATHESIU
MAURICE McCRACKIN
KARL MEYER
A. J. MUSTE
JUANITA NELSON
WALLACE NELSON
GLADNEY OAKLEY
RUTH REYNOLDS
EROSANNA ROBINSON
FRED SHUTTLESWORTH
ROBERT STOWELL
MARJORIE SWANN
ROBERT SWANN
RALPH TEMPLIN
ALBERT UHRIE

Liberation

110 Christopher Street
New York 14, N. Y.

Form 3547 Requested

Bulk Rate
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 9898
New York, N. Y.

